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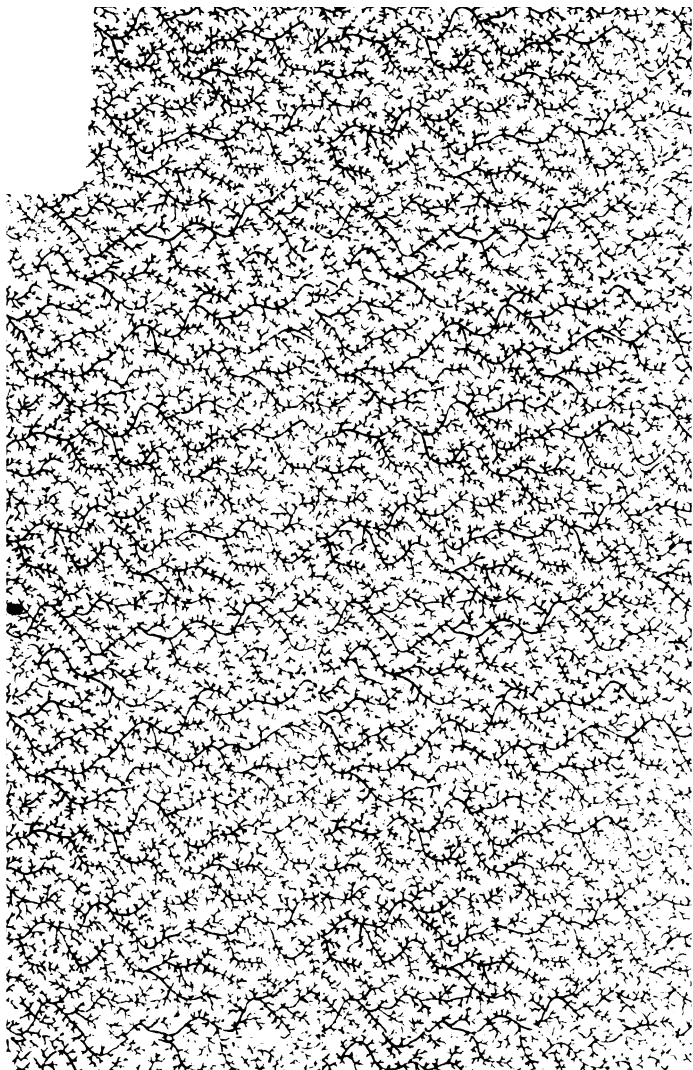
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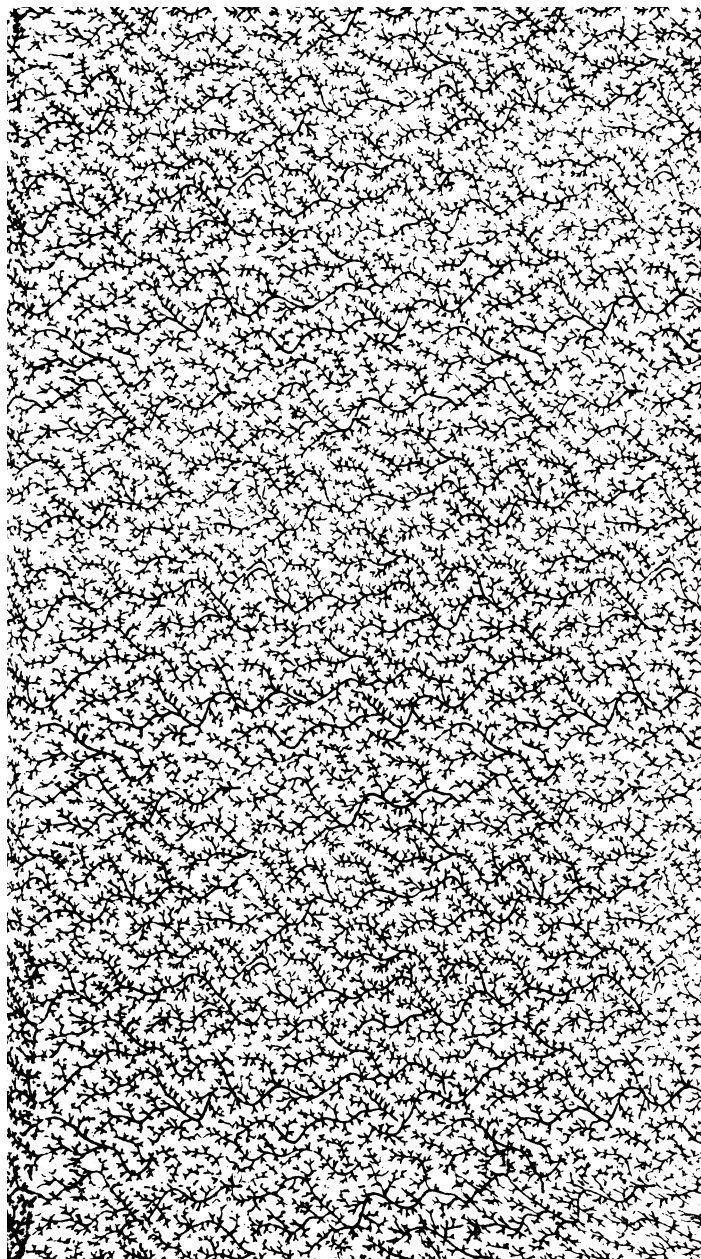
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WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED:

A POEM, IN TEN BOOKS,

By THOMAS NORTHMORE, Esq.

of Olean, N. Y. - Boston.

Æneadæ in ferrum pro libertate rubeant.

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1809.

W

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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1899.

"Gentlemen have been too liberal in dealing out reflections against me; in any question where England is right, I will support her—where she is wrong, I will oppose her injustice; and in advocating the just cause of America, or of any other power against the injustice of England, I say I am advocating the cause of my country. I am not the advocate of America—I am not the advocate of England, but the advocate of my country, because I am the advocate of justice." Whitbread's speech upon the Orders in Council, March 6, 1809. *Cobbett's Debates*, xii. 1163.

"I feel a sort of enthusiasm in favour of America; not only on account of the origin of the people, but also on account of the noble stand they had made for their independence." Lord Erskine, Feb. 15, 1808. Debate upon the Orders in Council. *Cobbett's Deb.* x. 473.

ERRATA.

Book I. line 301, for "*their camps*" read "*their factious camps*."

III. --- 355, for "*guile*" read "*guide*."

V. Argument, for "*Owen*" read "*Omen*."

VIII. line 27, for "*So*" read "*To*."

X. --- 347, for "*Deed*" read "*Deep*."

----- 411, after "*'Twas*" read "*then*."

PREFACE.

It is an observation of professor Schütz, that the objects which Æschylus appears to have had in view when he wrote his patriotick tragedy of Prometheus, were to confirm the Athenians in the ardent love of that liberty which they so enviably enjoyed, and to inspire them with an utter detestation of despotism, and a determined resistance to oppression. In the voluptuous monarchy of Persia the poet saw enough to disgust him with tyranny; and the contrast exhibited between the miseries attendant upon such a form of government, and the happiness arising from Athenian freedom, was a cause sufficiently powerful to raise to an exertion almost more than human the genius of the Shakespear of Greece. Such too is the object of the author of the present work. Born and educated in a land of liberty; descended from ancestors who, in the senates of their country, have with invariable

uniformity given their voices* in defence of its rights, and for the preservation of its liberties, he could not but feel, in common with every British patriot, his whole indignation roused at the attempt of a weak and wicked administration to subjugate his free brethren in America, and thus not only to destroy one of the first principles of the British constitution, but to pave the way to the introduction of despotick power at home. If enthusiasm has any where influenced my pen, let the reader reflect that it is an enthusiasm if not caused, yet aggravated by the proclaimed increase of the influence of the crown, and the gigantick strides of modern corruption. Let him reflect too that it is directed to the best of objects, the recovery of the past, the preservation of the present, and the security of our future liberties. That my work will in these times escape censure and abuse, is neither to be unexpected, nor regretted; for abuse is nothing more than the malignant effusion of that corruption, against which my pen has been uniformly, I wish I could add, efficaciously employed. If some passages of the poem

* See the divisions at the end of *Chandler's Debates*, vol. viii. and xii.

should seem not immediately to relate to the period in which they meet the publick eye, let it be remembered that those passages were written some years ago amid suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act, amid treason and sedition bills, amidst the imprisonments of learned and patriotick men, and above all under a system of spies and informers, that tended, among other evils, to diminish the chief source of human happiness, the endearments of domestic life.

In respect to the plan and nature of the poem, I have but little to observe. It will probably be remarked, as it has been of the *Pharsalia*, that its subject is too near my own times; be it so; the enlightened reader will perceive an endeavour to remedy that defect; and let him remember that human life is short, and had the validity of this objection been allowed, the poem would never have been written. Some criticks will perhaps object to the length of the episodes; but the same objection has been made to the best of poets in the best of times. If malice, or ignorance should suggest that the Americans were the enemies of my country, I positively deny the assertion. The American war was the war

of a corrupt administration in direct opposition to the voice of the most enlightened patriots of the British nation. The Americans have been justly called our children, and our brethren, they have boasted of Old England as their *home**, and the concessions ultimately made to them have manifested the original injustice of the war. They took up arms in defence of the same rights and liberties, which Englishmen themselves defended at their glorious revolution, and a similar success attended both. These are not the poet's sentiments only, they are the sentiments of a Rockingham, a Saville, a Camden and a Chatham†. It is true that Lord North, and his associates stamped the Americans with the name of rebels, but "the term rebel (as Mr. Fox observed in the House of Commons, March 11th, 1776) was no certain mark of disgrace; for that all the great assertors of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind, in all ages have been called rebels; that they even owed the constitution which enabled them to sit in that house to a rebellion."

* See the note, b. iv. ver. 156.

† See the notes, b. iv. ver. 75. 145. 148. 158. 163. 182. 189. 203. V. 61. 96. 106. 112. 128.

In respect to the language and versification, fewer liberties have been taken than will be found in Milton, and none which are not found in him. Some phrases and sentiments may appear to have been borrowed, which have run from my pen without my knowing whence they came: others indeed I have knowingly imitated, as Virgil and Milton have done before me, from the best authors of antiquity.

The annotations are principally confined to historical proofs of the sentiments delivered by the characters introduced in the body of the work, and in judging of these characters, the upright critick will not overlook the vindication. He will reflect too that the opinions expressed are not always those of the poet; it is sufficient for me that I have no where voluntarily transgressed the bounds of historick record.

The imagery is, for the most part, the same as Milton's, and as peace and liberty are to be ranked among the best blessings of man, they naturally suggest the idea of being odious to the enemy of man.

I now dismiss my work with the consoling reflection that I have endeavoured to inculcate

the best lessons of morality and virtue: that my endeavours will be crowned with success would be vanity to expect; but if I fail, I shall fail in the greatest of undertakings, where success is uncommon, and the attempt pardonable.

LONDON,
June 1, 1809.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK I.

ARGUMENT OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Invocation. Subject proposed—the restoration of Liberty. Grief of Satan, and his speech to the Infernal Angels assembled in Pandæmonium. Omen, and consequent indignation of Satan, who upbraids Moloch and other potentates of Hell. Fury of Moloch, appeased by Beelzebub. Moloch advises war. Second speech of Satan, laying open the plan of the campaign, his various deeds in America, and a portion of the history of the war. Mammon's speech, explaining his success among the hirelings of Britain, but deploring his incapability of corrupting Lord Chatham and the patriots. Other omens. Array of the infernal host, and their departure for York-town in Virginia. Satan follows in his car.

WASHINGTON,

OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

ALMIGHTY BEING! who on the human mind
Hast deep impress'd the unutterable worth
Of heaven-sprung Liberty, and didst denounce
The curse of ignorance with all its woes
Upon that nation which should spurn her gifts ; 5
To thee I call, and beg thy heavenly aid
To uphold my mortal pinions while I sing
Freedom restor'd to half the peopled earth
By freedom's noblest bulwark, Washington.
Say the first cause of all this good to man ; 10
What rank oppression ! what despotick laws !
What deep-laid plots of wicked ministers
To strangle in its birth the immortal seed !
Or, if the infernal potentates of hell

Line 14. *Or, if the infernal*—That Providence, in its dispensations of human affairs, frequently admitted of the agency of evil spirits, stands recorded in various passages of sacred history; among others in 1 Kings xxii. 20, where Ahab, the son and successor of Omri, was persuaded to go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead, by a lying spirit in the mouth of his prophets; which spirit was permitted by the Lord not only to persuade him, but to prevail also. It is re-

Have been permitted to resume awhile 15
 Their power on earth to speed thy great design,
 Say, for alone thou canst, which first and last,
 In war, or council, lent his devilish aid.

Long time had Satan view'd with envious eye,
 From where in Pandæmonium thron'd he sat, 20
 Columbia's mighty chief, at whose right hand
 He saw Success waving her lucid plumes,
 While Glory had descended from above,
 And o'er his standard spread her eagle wings.
 He saw, and griev'd, and thus to his compeers 25
 Pour'd the foreboding tumults of his soul ;

“ Was it for this that we have toil'd so long
 To avert the will of Heaven, and to mix
 In all the affairs of men discord and war ?
 Shall a mean rebel trample under foot 30

markable, indeed, that the celebrated duke of Manchester applied this very passage to those evil counsellors whose rash and headstrong politics caused that fatal war which is the subject of the present poem ; but the enlightened reader needs not be told that, how evil soever the poet may believe such counsels to have been, his whole object in introducing his machinery is purely allegorical. *Lords' Debates, March 5, 1776, v. p. 189. Almon.*

30. *a mean rebel*—As the direct tendency of superfluous wealth, particularly in the earlier period of life, is to enervate the human mind, pointing out only *quod ducit gula*, it is not much to be wondered at that many of the greatest characters of the world should have arisen from humble stations. “ Washington's patrimonial estate was by no means considerable ; his youth was employed in useful industry—in the practice of his profession as a surveyor.” And if the reader will take the pains to inquire into the origin of the various administrators (for I speak not of emperors and kings) of the European governments, either at the present, or in former times, he will find it not unfrequently obscure and humble. See *Marshall's Life of Washington*, ii. p. 2, 8vo. Phillips, 1804.

Our fruitful crops of ignorance and power?
 Say, shall a people's choice thus reassume
 The reins of empire we so long have plac'd
 Under the rule of proved ministers?
 See where Columbia's endless woods rebound 35
 With hymns of victory; see her altars blaze
 With the rich incense of a people's joy!
 Heard ye that shout? All heaven, and earth, and
 hell,

Chaos, and night reverberate the sound;
 'Twas to seraphick Liberty. E'en now, 40
 Now while we thus deliberation hold,
 The mighty foe prepares with latest hand
 To perfect his great work: Columbia,
 Whence we have hop'd, as from an earthly throne,
 Preeminent to pour upon mankind 45
 Future oppression, civil wars, and strife;
 Columbia crown'd with freedom, plenty, peace,
 Will propagate her blessings far and wide,
 And all our hopes be blasted with our power.
 Hell! hear my voice! perhaps for this last time 50
 Do I address thee; my prophetick mind
 Forebodes some dire misfortune to my throne,

44. *Whence we have hop'd*,—If the efforts of the British ministry to subjugate America had been crowned with success, it is hardly possible to doubt the consequences that would have ensued: "either terms must have been granted to her equivalent to independence, or else a perpetual cause of war would have remained." Other nations must have suffered by these conflicts with America, as they are now benefited by the establishment of her independence. Upon this subject the reader may consult the advertisement prefixed to *Ramsay's History*; and the *Appendix*, No. IV. 8vo. Stockdale, 1793.

Some speedy dissolution. Brave compeers !
Now give your best advice ; and thou, whose gold
Hath mightiest influence o'er the hearts of men, 55
Exert thy wonted power, or rather seek
Some new unbroken treasure, for great need
Have we of every succour : fall we now,
We are for ever fallen ; we rise no more."

Scarce had he said, when in the furthest west 60
Seraphick splendour glided down the sky,
And over York-town halted. Vaulted hell
Saw the dire sign, and to its central depths
Groan'd. Satan shook in all his ponderous limbs,
And his dread tongue forgot its utterance ; 65
While silence, still as night, held the whole host
Of hell's proud chiefs ; until again their prince,
By shame and anger rous'd, thus loud exclaim'd ;
" Moloch ! why sleepest thou ? Beëlzebub !
Mammon ! and all ye potentates of hell ! 70
Rouse, rouse your energies ! For shame, ye chiefs !
Is this the time to sleep, when all the powers
Of heaven and earth combine to overthrow
Our new-establish'd empire, and restore
The reign of peace and charity to man ? 75
E'en hell itself 's in danger : saw ye not
The archangel Liberty with outspread wing
Glide thro' the western sky, and take her stand
Close by our foe, near York-town's sea-lav'd walls ?
That Liberty's our death ! Then farewell, hell ! 80
Farewell, our throne ! Annihilation, hail !"

So spake the archfiend : indignant, Moloch rose,

And with fell fury struggling, and with words
Half chok'd in utterance thus pour'd out his wrath;
"Moloch! why sleepest thou? Did Moloch sleep
When all the embattled Seraphim engag'd
In doubtful war on either side of heaven?
Did Moloch sleep when the uprooted hills,
Torn from their base, with all their ponderous loads,
Encounter'd in mid ether, and there fix'd 90
Arch'd o'er heaven's pavement? Where was Moloch
then,

When the dread Thunderer drove his rapid car
O'er fallen millions, and the forked light
Hurl'd us down headlong from the gates of heaven?
And when in hell's profound, where all the host
Lay foundering, did not Moloch's dauntless spirit
Thirst for revenge, and urge again the war?
What words have thus escap'd thee, mighty prince?
I never prophesied of death to hell;
I never bid annihilation hail; 100
I tremble not because seraphick light
Hath halted over York-town. If it have,
Moloch will meet it there. Give me my arms;
This the first time that Moloch branded stood
With sleepy cowardice, and this the last; 105
For here I swear, and hell confirm the oath,
That Moloch here shall not be seen again,
Till he redeem his forfeited repute."

He said, and swore a Stygian oath that shook
E'en Satan's haughty soul; then seiz'd his arms, 110
While quivering horror sat upon his lips.

To them rose Beelzebub, than whom in hell
No spirit more fraught with wisdom's choicest
stores,

And thus with soothing words the chiefs address'd ;
" Whence this dire discord midst immortal spirits ?
Is 't not enough that heaven and earth combine 116
To undermine our cause, but must ourselves
Accelerate our downfall, and become
The scorn and ridicule of all our foes ?

What joy in heaven to see the chiefs of hell 120
Divided 'gainst themselves ! Beyond this place
We have no other hope ; 't were vanity
To expect external aid, when he alone
Who has the power to aid us is our foe."

Check then this rising wrath, lest punishment 125
Bring with it late repentance, and that portent,
Which not our prince alone, but all, e'en thou,
Brave Moloch ! not unmov'd have seen, o'erwhelm
Us all in one inextricable fate."

To him thus Moloch temperate replied ; 130
" Thy wisdom, Beelzebub ! hath set my fault
In clear and open view before my eyes.

Moloch's ungovern'd haste shall ne'er be said
To have endanger'd hell ; my hate to heaven,
Full well ye all do know, is rooted deep ; 135
My interests are in hell. Our wiser prince
Foresees some dire misfortune to our power ;

We all, I own it, felt unwonted pangs ;
My voice then is for war, for open war,
And if we are to die, let's die the death 140

Of unextinguish'd hate, and whelm with us
In one eternal ruin all mankind."

'Thus spake the chief, and the universal host
In lengthen'd acclamations rang the dome.
As the fond parent, who to distant Ind 145
Had sent his only son to amass that wealth
Which various evils teach mankind to love,
But which mankind too frequent at the expense
Of health and conscience heap ; him when from far

149. *Of health and conscience heap* :—The allurements and temptations which have been laid in the way of the British youth upon their arrival in Bengal are so ably delineated by one, whose judgment will scarcely be called in question, that I do not think I can render a more acceptable service to those who are unwilling to overlook the means in the attainment of the end, than by presenting them with the following extract from the celebrated Speech of Lord Clive, March 1772.

" The passion for gain is as strong as the passion of love. I will suppose that two intimate friends have lived long together ; that one of them has married a beautiful woman ; that the friend still continues to live in the house ; and that the beautiful woman, forgetting her duty to her husband, attempts to seduce the friend ; who, though in the vigour of his youth, may, from a high principle of honour, at first resist the temptation, and even rebuke the lady. But if he still continues to live under the same roof, and she still continues to throw out her allurements, he must be seduced at last, or fly. Now the banyan is the fair lady to the Company's servant. He lays his bags of silver before him today, gold tomorrow ; jewels the next day ; and if these fail, he then tempts him in the way of his profession, which is trade. He assures him that goods may be had cheap, and sold to great advantage up the country. In this manner is the attack carried on ; and the Company's servant has no resource, for he cannot fly. In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it. Let us for a moment consider the nature of the education of a young man who goes to India. The advantages arising from the Company's service are now very generally known ; and the great object of every man is to get his son appointed a writer to Bengal ; which is usually at the age of sixteen. His parents and relations represent to him how certain he is of making a fortune ; that My lord such a one and My lord such a

The happy parent sees, whom even hope 150
 Had given up for lost, and ill report
 Of founder'd merchantman, the ecstasick flood
 Pours from his aged eyes with nature's joy ;
 So joy'd the archfiend, when Moloch's haughty soul
 Return'd to its allegiance ; (well he knew 155
 His favourite's sovereign worth, next to himself
 He was regarded as the eye of hell ;) '
 And thus with gladden'd countenance rose, and said ;
 " Thrones, Princes, Powers ! since thus ye have
 decreed

one acquired so much money in such a time; and Mr. such a one and Mr. such a one so much in such a time. Thus are their principles corrupted at their very setting out; and as they generally go a good many together, they inflame one another's expectations to such a degree, in the course of the voyage, that they fix upon a period for their return before their arrival.

" Let us now take a view of one of these writers arrived in Bengal, and not worth a groat. As soon as he lands, a banyan, worth perhaps one hundred thousand pounds, desires he may have the honour of serving this young gentleman at four shillings and sixpence per month. The Company has provided chambers for him, but they are not good enough; the banyan finds better. The young man takes a walk about the town; he observes that other writers, arrived only a year before him, live in splendid apartments or have houses of their own, ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanquins and chaises; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret. When he returns, he tells the banyan what he has observed. The banyan assures him he may soon arrive at the same good fortune; he furnishes him with money; he is then at his mercy. The advantages of the banyan advance with the rank of his master, who in acquiring one fortune generally spends three. But this is not the worst of it: he is in a state of dependance under the banyan, who commits such acts of violence and oppression as his interest prompts him to, under the pretended sanction and authority of the Company's servant." *Debrett's Debates*, vi. 219-220.

To wage in bold defiance open war, 160
Know that your prince approves the great design;
'Tis this alone can save us, for 'tis writ
Within the book of Fate, that he who long
Hath reign'd triumphant o'er the minds of men
Shall reign no more; 'tis on Columbia's plains 165
The victor shall be vanquish'd : hence it comes
That the chief powers of heaven do now unite
To aid Columbia's cause and Washington :
And hell too must unite ; no petty feuds
Must now disgrace our cause ; concord alone 170
Enabled us the Eternal to oppose,
And uproar heaven ; 'tis this alone can save
Our power on earth ; for 'tis to this we owe
Empire, dominion, principality :
Let hell then but unite, and hell succeed. 175
What though from heaven the Omnipotent suspend
His golden chain, and all the planets hang
Revolving round their centre, and there pois'd
Seem to endure eternal ; yet the force
Of hell has ne'er been tried but with success 180
On earth, and why not now ? Put forth your
strength,
Ye mighty chieftains ! arm without delay ;
Arrest these traitorous, these rebellious sons
Amid their mad career ; Virginia,
Where fate hath now enclos'd them, be their grave !
But above all direct your choicest darts 186
Against their chiefs ; the warriors Lee, and Wayne,
Schuyler, and Putnam, prudent Sullivan,

The thunderbolt La Fayette, mighty Greene,
 The too successful Gates, with Pomeroy, 190
 Ward, Mifflin, Morgan, and Pulaski's might,
 Moultrie, St. Clair, the other Washington,
 Lincoln, and D'Estaing, valiant Rochambeau,
 Sumpter, with Marion, and Cadwallader,
 And many warriors more. Nor yet forget 195
 Their various statesmen, whose prudential care
 Supplies the warriors' wants : here above all
 Mark that sage Nestor, Franklin, whose deep mind
 With more than Argus' vigilance pursues
 Our intricate movements ; he alone 200
 Is in himself a host, a Washington.
 Fondly I hop'd in British Wedderburne

192. *the other Washington*,—Lieutenant-colonel Washington.

195. *And many warriors more*.—Some few are mentioned hereafter; but it would be endless to record the Butlers, Pinckneys, Knoxes, Spencers, Heaths, Thomases, Stirlings, Moores, Thompsons, Campbells, Gregorys, Trumbulls, Clintons, Maxwells, and the long list of worthies who defended the liberties of their country, and the rights of mankind.

198. *sage Nestor, Franklin*.—Lord Chatham's opinion of this great statesman and philosopher was, that he was "one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with her Boyles and her Newtons; who was an honour not only to the English nation, but to human nature." See *Ramsay*, i. p. 153, and ii. p. 61; and compare Dr. Franklin's Answer to the Queries of Mr. Strahan, published in his works.

202. *Wedderburne*.—In the celebrated examination of Dr. Franklin before the privy-council, Jan. 1774, Mr. Wedderburne, who was then solicitor-general, and counsel for the defendants, "delivered one of the most extraordinary invectives (abounding in the most odious personalities against Dr. Franklin) that was on any occasion perhaps ever heard in the council-chamber,"—"and stands upon record as the grossest insult ever offered to a great and venerable character, the most distinguished ornament of his age and country." Among

To find this sage's equal, but in vain ;
 For Franklin when to Wedderburne compar'd
 Is to a twinkling star the full-orb'd moon. 205
 Mark too financier Morris, who doth seem
 To have found the talisman of making gold.
 Nor let from your harpyian fangs escape

other effusions of this implacable enemy of America, he scrupled not to say of Dr. Franklin—"He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye, they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escritaires. He will henceforth esteem it a *libel* to be called a man of letters: *homo trium literarum*." The dignified superiority of the American philosopher never manifested itself more clearly than by the following remark; "that though the invectives of the solicitor-general made no impression upon him, he was indeed sorry to see the lords of the council, who constituted the dernier court in colonial affairs, so rudely and indecently manifesting the pleasure they received from it." See *Belsham's Hist. of G. III.* vol. ii. p. 35, 36, 114; *Franklin's Works, Acc. of Gov. Hutchinson's Letters*; *Ramsay*, i. 92-3.

206, *Financier Morris*.—There are few, very few individuals to whom America was more indebted for her preservation than to this eminent and enlightened patriot. At a time when the derangement of the American finances appeared irremediable, when credit and confidence were annihilated, and nothing was heard but the distresses of the army and the clamours of the people, this able politician and financier nobly stepped forward, and by "bringing his private credit in aid of the public resources; by pledging himself personally and extensively for articles of the most absolute necessity, which could not be otherwise obtained," restored order and alleviated misery. In general Greene's army he employed an agent whose powers were unknown to that officer; "and whenever it appeared impossible for the general to extricate himself from his embarrassments, this agent was instructed to furnish him with a draft on the financier for such a sum as would retrieve the urgency of the moment. Thus was Greene frequently rescued from impending ruin by aid which appeared providential, and for which he could not account." *Life of W.* vol. iv. p. 514. 618. 626-7.

The prudent Laurens, (who hath won the heart
 Of sage De Castries,) nor that Jefferson, 210
 In whom I see a more than common foe ;
 Nor Rutledge, Hancock, Deane, nor Dickenson,
 Randolph, nor Henry, Jay nor Livingston,
 Adams nor Reed ; and numbers more too long
 For me to mention. E'en their women, rous'd 215

209. *Laurens, (who hath won the heart, &c.*—Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens (the eldest son of the celebrated Henry Laurens, who was confined in the Tower of London) had been appointed by Congress, an. 1780, as their special minister to the court of Versailles, where "his superior talents as a statesman and negociator," added to his "engaging manners and insinuating address, procured him the most favourable reception. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs," and particularly of the marquis de Castries, who directed the marine of France. See *Ramsay*, ii. 262-3. 279.

212. 214. *Hancock, Adams*.—In the proclamation issued by general Gage, an. 1775, offering pardon to all those who should lay down their arms, Samuel Adams and John Hancock were alone excepted from the benefit of it; their offences being declared "to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.—No other notice was taken by the Congress of this proclamation, than to choose Mr. Hancock president of that assembly." *Belsham*, ii. 143 ; *Life of W.* ii. 288 ; *Ramsay*, i. 200-1.

214. *and numbers more*—Such as the Madisons, Draytons, Monroes, &c. &c.

215. *E'en their women, rous'd, &c.*—Women are patriots by nature; the American women have excelled their nature. "With a ready acquiescence, with a firmness always cheerful, and a constancy never lamenting the sacrifices which were made, they not only yielded up all the elegancies, delicacies, and even conveniences, to be furnished by wealth and commerce, but, consenting to share the produce of their own labour, they gave up without regret a considerable portion of the covering designed for their own families, to supply the wants of a distressed soldiery; and heroically suppressed the involuntary sigh, which the departure of their brothers, their sons and their husbands for the camp rendred from their bosoms."

The eloquent language of Mr. Burke has not failed to do

By Motte's example, and by Caldwell's woes,
 Have stripp'd themselves of every ornament
 To serve their country. Such then be your aim,
 Your deadly aim ! But since their chieftain's life,
 In whom are centred all their hopes and fears, 220

them justice. "He apostrophized with a degree of enthusiasm upon the noble spirit of men, whom if they had not been rebels he would be lavish in praising; of women, who, reduced by the ruins of civil discord to the most horrible situation of distress and poverty, had constancy, generosity, and public spirit, to strip the blankets, in a freezing season, from themselves and their infants, to send them to the camp, and preserve that army which they had sent out to fight for their liberty. And shall Britons overlook such virtue? and will they persist in oppressing it?" &c. See *Life of W.* iv. p. 298. 482; ii. 164; *Almon's Parl. Deb. Nov. 1777*, viii. p. 18; *Ramsay*, ii. 172.

216. *Motte's example*,—"The British (an. 1781) had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling-house. She with great cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials for firing her own house. These being thrown by them on its roof soon kindled into flame. The firing of the house, which was in the centre of the British works, compelled the garrison, consisting of 165 men, to surrender at discretion." *Ramsay*, ii. 247.

216. *Caldwell's woes*,—"An incursion (an. 1780) was made into Jersey from New York, with 5000 men, commanded by lieut.-gen. Kniphausen. They landed at Elizabeth-town, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a presbyterian clergyman of great activity, ability, and influence, whose successful exertions in animating the Jersey militia to defend their rights had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house in his absence, and shot his wife Mrs. Caldwell instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room in which she was sitting with her children." Such is the account given by Dr. Ramsay (ii. 182) of an act which "excited universal indignation:" but on the other side the British contended "that this lady was the victim of a random shot, and even that the fatal ball had proceeded from the militia." The reader may see the matter discussed in the *Life of Washington*, iv. 276.

And justly centred, (for not acts alone,
 Nor words, but e'en his inmost thoughts, are all
 Daily and nightly in their cause engag'd
 Under celestial guidance,) since this life
 Is thus protected by superiour powers, 225
 That be my care. What, shall we these permit,
 Like brave Ephialtes, and the ancient Otus,
 From potent Reason sprung, to bring again
 The reign of Peace, and bind in links of iron
 Our chosen friends of war? Forbid it, hell! 230
 Let's rather urge the ravenous dogs of blood,
 Where-e'er dispers'd throughout the peopled world,
 From ancient Scythia, and the drenched plains
 Of Italy, to that far-famed isle
 By moneyed muckworms, merchant-ministers, 235

227. *Ephialtes, Otus, &c.*—Compare the scholiast upon *Homer's Iliad* i. 385; and *Odys.* λ. 307, &c.

235. *moneyed muckworms*,—"My lords! (said the great Chatham, an. 1770,) while I had the honour of serving his majesty, I never ventured to look at the treasury but at a distance; it is a business that I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the *moneyed interest*.—I mean that *blood-sucker*, that *muckworm*, which calls itself the friend of government—that pretends to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by *any administration* that advances money to government, and takes special care of its own emoluments." *Debrett's Debates*, v. 356.

235. *merchant-ministers*,—Perhaps the pernicious effect of the junction of the merchant and the sovereign is nowhere so clearly demonstrated as in the possessions of our merchants in India. There, from the humble factor they have become the "magnificent Dewan;" from the habiliment of the suppliant they have proceeded through the rapid steps of aggrandizement to array themselves in the imperial purple; while their whole course has been marked with the confiscation of property, the deposition of rajahs, the murder of

Embroid'd in endless warfare. Mammon! haste,
Back to thy favour'd spot; pour out thy stores,

brahmans, and the extirpation of nations. Such has been, in one part of the world, the effect of this monstrous union, and such will ever be the effect of a government which can regulate its conduct by such an odious maxim of policy as that "*where there is treasure there is treason.*" But the more enlightened part of the British nation abhor such policy; they have endeavoured to bring it to a condign punishment, and thus avert the judgment of an offended Deity. They have failed of success, and the prophecy of Isaiah must be fulfilled. See *Belsham's G. III.* vol. iii. p. 73—9. 101. 115 note. 152—164. 185; and vol. i. 220.

236. *in endless warfare.*—If we compare the number of years in which this nation has been engaged in war, with that in which it has enjoyed the blessings of peace, the balance will be found to be pretty equal. Hence one statesman has called us "a little choleric island;" and another, upon the authority of Mr. Hume, has observed "that England had too great a propensity to war, and was too pertinacious in continuing it." Nor must we omit the dying injunction of Henry IV. who advised his son, "never to let the English remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in foreign expeditions—that all the restless spirits might find occupation for their inquietude."

I had a purpose now
To lead out many to the Holy Land;
Lest rest, and lying still, might make them look
Too near into my state. Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course, to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels.—

Shakes. 2. Hen. IV. act 4. sc. 4.

Various are the causes usually assigned for this supposed national propensity. Some have attributed it to our foreign dominions and our claim to the crown of France; others, to continental connections and balance of power; others again, to commercial views and the dominion of the sea. But with all due submission I shall beg leave to move the previous question, and inquire whether the nation is really choleric, unquiet, and prone to war. If I look around me, I see no signs of such a disposition. I see a virtuous, an honest, an industrious, a benevolent, and a hospitable people. I see too, what I do not wish to see, an oppressed people—a people patient, almost to a proverb, under accumulated burthens, and although ardent in the cause of liberty, yet submitting,

Thy choicest stores; lest warn'd at last by ill
 'The people's eyes be open'd, and the mist 239
 Which North and Hillsborough have pour'd around
 At length disperse: then will they soon grow wise,
 Listen to Chatham, Conway, Shelburne's voice,
 The Athenian Fox, and Burke, and Rockingham,
 And hail return of peace: but that be thine,
 O Mammon! to prevent. But I do wrong 245
 To give thee this advice; a single word
 In sounding periods echoes to the wise.
 Nor has your prince been sparing of his toil;
 I from the first have watched Columbia's son,
 And mark'd him for my prey; thrice have I sped

through the delusions of sophistry, to the daily infringement of their rights and privileges. In such a people, removed as they are from the tumults of the continent, where shall be found either time, inclination, or opportunity for war? They aspire to no arbitrary power; they seek no connections but those of mutual benefit; they have provided by their laws against the bad effects of foreign dominions; they perceive that their rulers themselves have mistaken the balance of power; and they know and feel that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures are the pursuits of peace. That ministers and rulers should endeavour to excite a propensity to war, for various other reasons than the finding of occupation for restless spirits, is a truth that needs no demonstration; but it must be credulity itself that will give credit to the affirmation that such a propensity is natural to a *people*, whom the ocean separates from the continent, who boast of their free constitution, and who profess to be worshippers of the prince of peace. *Almon's Parl. Deb.* vi. p. 23; *Belsham's G. III.* v. 295-6. *Encyc. Britan.* art. *England*, p. 635. See *Blackstone*, *Introd.* sect. 4, p. 111, and compare *Miles's Letter to the Prince of Wales*, p. 102-3.

240. *North and Hillsborough*—The former was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer during the American war; and the latter, for part of the time, secretary of state.

My choicest darts against the hero's life, 251
And unsuccessful thrice have I been foil'd,
For some superiour seraph guards the chief.
What else but this had sav'd his fleeting breath
From those assassins, who by my command 255
Way-laid the undaunted hero as he pass'd
On that fam'd mission to the Ohio forks?
What else but this, when midst frost, rains, and
 snows,
The driving ice jamm'd up his feeble raft,
And plunged him in the deep? What else but this,

257. *On that fam'd mission*—"The exertions made by Mr. Washington on this occasion, the perseverance with which he surmounted the difficulties of the journey, and the judgment he displayed [though a very young man] in his conduct towards the Indians, raised him very much in the public opinion, as well as in that of the lieutenant-governor." The whole report of this arduous undertaking is given in the *Life of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 5; but the following extract (p. 25) will illustrate the meaning of the text; "Just after we (Mr. Washington and Mr. Gist) had passed a place called Murdering-town (where we intended to quit the path, and steer across the country at Shannapin's town) we fell in with a party of French Indians who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him till about nine o'clock at night; then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured that they would follow our track as soon as it was light."

260. *And plunged him in the deep?*—"There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched; then went on board of it and set off; but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so

When glorious Braddock fell, and not one chief
 Save Washington alone escap'd unhurt ; 262
 What but this guardian sav'd him from our power ?
 Not jealousy, nor envy, nor defeat,

much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water. But I fortunately saved myself by catching hold on one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore; but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it." *Ib.* p. 25-6.

262. *Save Washington alone*—"General Braddock, who possessed personal courage in a very eminent degree, but who was without experience in that species of warfare in which he was engaged—exerted his utmost powers to form his broken troops, under an incessant and galling fire, on the very ground where they were first attacked. In his fruitless efforts to restore order, every officer on horseback, except Mr. Washington, was killed or wounded; and at length the general himself, after losing three horses, received a mortal wound, and his regulars fled in the utmost terror and confusion." *Life of Washington*, i. 458.

264. *Not jealousy, nor envy, &c.*—The Americans, the true and genuine offspring of British parents, have constantly entertained a constitutional and hereditary jealousy of a standing army: nor was Washington exempt from this feeling; he allowed its justice, though he felt acutely how much the cause of his country suffered from it. One of its evils, and not the least, was the opportunity which it gave to his rivals to indulge their own private envy under the semblance of public patriotism. Hence arose a faction, headed by general Conway, whose chief design seems to have been to supplant Washington, and "exalt general Gates on his ruin." Had this plan succeeded, the subjugation of America would have appeared inevitable. In a letter to Mr. Laurens, president of Congress, Washington thus expresses himself; "Why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents, which I cannot pretend to rival, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me it has been my unremitted aim to do the best which circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may in many instances deserve the imputation of error." Upon this subject, and upon the dreadful distresses of the army, which he says in one place "must inevitably be reduced to one or other

Nor rancorous malice, nor unjust abuse, 265
 Not traitorous friendship, nor internal foes,
 Not misery itself in every shape,
 Famine, disease, and pestilence, and feuds,
 Can shake his soul's fix'd purpose ; e'en his evils
 Serve but to raise him in the people's love, 270
 And for their liberties, Prometheus-like,
 He'd stand unmov'd amid the wreck of worlds.

of these three things—to starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence,” see *Life of W.* iii. p. 351—373 ; ii. 302. 334. 340. 612-3 ; iv. 253. 349. 97. 466 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 222-3. 164. 186—9.

Upon the calumnies he suffered upon other accounts, see *Life of W.* ii. 30-1. 74 ; *Ramsay*, i. 261. 306.

266. *Nor internal foes*.—In the earlier period of the revolution there were great numbers “ who viewed the dissolution of their connection with Britain with anxious regret. —And it was also an unfortunate truth, that in the whole country between New-England and the Potomac, which was now to become the great theatre of action, although the majority were in favour of independence, yet there existed a formidable minority, who not only refused to act with their countrymen, but were ready to give the enemy every aid in their power.—In the neighbourhood of New-York a plot to favour the enemy on their landing, and, as was understood, to seize and deliver up general Washington himself, had been formed, in which governor Tryon, through the agency of the mayor of New-York, was believed to be principally concerned.” See *Life of W.* ii. 483. 466-7. 353. 596 ; iii. 53-4.

272. *He'd stand unmov'd*.—“ Among the many valuable traits in the character of general Washington, was that unyielding firmness of mind, which resisted these accumulated circumstances of depression, and supported him under them. Undismayed by the dangers which surrounded him, he did not, for an instant, relax his exertions, nor omit any thing which could obstruct the progress of the enemy, or ameliorate his own condition. He did not appear to despair of the public safety, but struggled against adverse fortune, with the hope of yet vanquishing the difficulties which surrounded him ; and constantly showed himself to his harassed and enfeebled army, with a serene unembarrassed counte-

And soon must fall, while speculators, thieves,
 And money-jobbers on their country's ills
 Fatten and bask : e'en Washington calls out
 For aid on Jefferson : the brave De Kalb 310
 Hath met his fate, and gone to greet the shade
 Of great Montgomery in Orcus' depths,

307. *while speculators, &c.*—"Nothing, in my judgment, (says Washington) can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe. The former, alas! to our shame be it spoken, is less likely to happen than the latter; as it is now consistent with the views of the speculators, various tribes of money-makers, and stock-jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument, without considering that this avarice and thirst for gain must plunge every thing, including themselves, in one common ruin." *Life of W.* iv. 57; iii. 40, &c.

See *Ramsay*, ii. 129. where speaking of the depreciation of the American paper, he says that at one period it was so low as "several hundreds for one." See ii. 135. 184. 187-8. 224.

310. *For aid on Jefferson*:—Washington in one of his letters writes thus; "Where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth to save their country? Let this voice, my dear sir, call upon you, Jefferson, and others." *Life of W.* iv. 58. See 324.

310. *the brave De Kalb*—This brave German baron was killed at the battle of Camden (an. 1780), where he was second in command under Gates; and "the Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis with a very honourable inscription." "While making a vigorous charge at the head of a regiment of infantry, he fell under eleven wounds." See *Ramsay*, ii. 168; and *Life of W.* iv. 233.

312. *Of great Montgomery*—This great and upright character, worthy of the best period of Spartan integrity, whom friends and foes have equally contributed to celebrate, whom both Minervas have claimed their own, died at an early period of the war in making one of the boldest attempts that history has ever recorded; the attempt to take Quebec by escalade, and that too with an inferior number of troops. His fate is singular. "Cape Diamond, around which he was to make his way, presents a precipice, the foot of which

Where are already sent the warrior souls

is washed by the river, where enormous and rugged masses of ice had been piled on each other, so as to render the way almost impassable. Along the scanty path leading under the projecting rocks of the precipice, the Americans pressed forward in a narrow file, till they reached the block-house and picquet. Montgomery, who was himself in the front, assisted with his own hands to cut down or pull up the picquets, and open a passage for his troops; but the excessive roughness and difficulty of the way had so lengthened his line of march, that he found it absolutely necessary to halt a few minutes, in order to collect a force with which he might venture to proceed. Having re-assembled about 200 men, whom he encouraged alike by his voice and his example, he advanced boldly and rapidly at their head to force the barrier. One or two persons had now ventured to return to the battery, and seizing a slow match standing by one of the guns, discharged the piece, when the American front was within forty paces of it. This single and accidental fire was a fatal one. The general, and captains M'Pherson and Cheesman, two valuable young officers near his person, the first of whom was his aid, together with his orderly sergeant and a private, were killed on the spot."—Burke, Barré, and Fox vied with each other in their eulogiums of him; and even lord North, who had censured this unqualified praise bestowed upon a rebel, "admitted indeed that he was brave, he was able, he was humane, he was generous; but still he was only a brave, able, humane, and generous rebel;" and said "that the verse of the tragedy of Cato might be applied to him;

'Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country.'

Fox upon this rose again, and said "the term of *rebel*, applied by the noble lord to that excellent person, was no certain mark of disgrace, and therefore he was the less earnest to clear him of the imputation; for that all the great assertors of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind, in all ages had been called *rebels*; that they even owed the constitution, which enabled them to sit in that house, to a *rebellion*."

"Richard Montgomery, whose short but splendid course was thus terminated, was a native of Ireland, and had served with reputation in the late war; after its conclusion he settled in New-York, where he married an American lady, and took a very strong and decided part (as did many of his oppressed countrymen) with the colonies in their contest with Great Britain." A monument was decreed him by Congress,

Of Mercer, Warren, Ledyard, Porterfield,
And aged Wooster; while their mightiest Gates, 315
And Greene cease not to mourn their overthrow
By Rawdon and Cornwallis; Camden's plains

with an inscription expressive of his great and eminent services. See *Life of W.* ii. 400. 410—13; *Ramsay*, i. 230—235—240—2—4; *Belsham*, ii. 155-6; *Almon's Parl. Deb.* iii. 403-4. an. 1776.

314. *Mercer, Warren, &c.*—"General Mercer was a Scotchman by birth, but from principle and affection had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country, with a zeal equal to that of any of its native sons. In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in the public esteem. He was mortally wounded (in the battle near Princeton, an. 1777,) while gallantly exerting himself to rally his broken troops." See *Ramsay*, i. 323; and *Life of W.* ii. 625.

Of Warren, who was killed at Bunker's Hill, "I shall have to speak hereafter.

314. *Ledyard*.—In the destructive expedition of general Arnold against New-London, fort Griswold, "after a severe conflict of forty minutes, was carried by the assailants.—An officer of the conquering troops inquired on his entering the fort who commanded. Colonel Ledyard answered, '*I did, but you do now:*' and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body and killed." *Ramsay*, ii. 274-5. See *Life of W.* iv. 533-4.

314. *Porterfield*.—This gallant commander, whose bravery had been conspicuous in an early period of the war, at the assault of Quebec, where he was then only a serjeant, received a mortal wound at the battle of Camden. See *Life of W.* ii. 403; iv. 226-7.

315. *aged Wooster*.—In the year 1777 a detachment of 2000 British troops under major-general Tryon had succeeded in destroying the town and magazines at Danbury, and were now returning to their ships: general Wooster, then seventy years old, with about 300 men, came up with their rear, and "attacked them with great gallantry. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which he was mortally wounded, and his troops compelled to give way."—"Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory as an acknowledgement of his merit and services." *Ramsay*, ii. 3; *Life of W.* iii. 91.

317. *Rawdon and Cornwallis*.—To have conquered such men as Gates and Greene is the highest praise. For a de-

Columbia's heart-felt sorrows twice attest.

Georgia is ours ; and Lincoln's frustrate hopes

Have struck proud Charles-town's flag, and all its
stores 320

Now grace the triumph of a Clinton's car.

Irvin is taken ; Sullivan resigns ;

While Tarleton, Tryon, Grey, Knyphausen spread

scription of the two victories at Camden, which raised the confidence of ministers almost to presumption, the reader may consult *Ramsay*, ii. 167. 246 ; *Life of W.* iv. 576. 231.

319. *Georgia is ours ; and Lincoln's frustrate hopes*—General Lincoln surrendered Charleston to sir Henry Clinton on the 12th of May 1780. See *Ramsay*, ii. 155-6 ; *Life of W.* iv. 204. For the reduction of Georgia, see *Life of W.* iv. 66-7.

322. *Irvin is taken*—General Irvin was wounded and taken in a skirmish between the Pennsylvania militia and the advanced light parties of sir William Howe. *Life of W.* iii. 331.

322. *Sullivan resigns* ;—This very able commander “ had so freely censured the civil government for having failed to comply with all his demands for military stores, that considerable offence was given to several members of Congress, and still more to the board of war. In consequence of these causes, when, at the close of the campaign, Sullivan complained of ill health, and offered on that account to resign his commission, the endeavours of his friends to obtain a vote requesting him to continue in the service, and permitting him to withdraw from actual duty till his health should be restored, was overruled, and his resignation was accepted. The resolution permitting him to resign was, however, accompanied with one thanking him for his past services.” *Life of W.* iv. 161-2.

323. *Tarleton, Tryon, Grey, Knyphausen*—To the names of these celebrated generals I might have added those of Vaughan, Mawhood, Matthews, and others ; but to recount all the miseries they inflicted upon the Americans, would be to write another history. It is, however, but justice to observe that the German mercenaries, and the royalists, were the chief agents in unnecessary cruelties. For a few of their devastations the reader may consult *Life of W.* iv. 208. 237. 276 ; iii. 97. 311. 477 note, 564 ; iv. 89 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 49-50. 94. Compare the Debates of the House of Lords, Dec. 2,

Destruction, woe, and misery around,
 Like the fam'd plagues of Egypt. Travellers 325
 And future antiquaries may inquire
 Where Falmouth, Fairfield, Norfolk, Bedford stood,
 Where too New-London ; and the countryman

1777. In the speech of lord Shelburne general Vaughan is very roughly handled. *Almon*, x. 126.

327. *Falmouth*,—A town in the northern parts of Massachusetts, was burnt by captain Mowat, Oct. 18, 1775. *Ramsay*, i. 225 ; *Life of W.* ii. 319-20.

327. *Fairfield*,—"This flourishing village was reduced to ashes ; and many unarmed individuals are alleged to have suffered the most brutal treatment. The effectual services of the militia are attested in the apology made by general Tryon for the wanton destruction of private property, which marked and disgrace his conduct at this place. The village was burnt, he says, to resent the fire of the rebels from their houses, and to mask our retreat." *Life of W.* iv. 117.

327. *Norfolk*,—was destroyed, Dec. 1775, by lord Dunmore. The whole loss "was estimated at 300,000 pounds sterling." *Ramsay*, i. 251. The duke of Richmond thus expresses his indignation at this deed. "We were not only to rob the Americans of their property, and make them slaves to fight our battles, but we made war on them in a manner which would shock the most barbarous nations, by firing their towns, and turning the wretched inhabitants to perish in cold, want and nakedness. Even still more, this barbaric rage was not only directed against our enemies, but against our warmest and most zealous friends. This he instanced in the late conflagration of the loyal town of Norfolk, in Virginia, as administration had so frequently called it, which was reduced to ashes by the wanton and unprovoked act of one of our naval commanders. Such an act was no less inconsistent with every sentiment of humanity, than contrary to every rule of good policy." *Almon's Deb.* v. 180 ; and see the duke of Manchester's speech, *ib.* 189.

327. *Bedford*—For the destruction of Bedford and Fairhaven by general Grey, see *Life of W.* iii. 561. Sir Joseph Mawbey, indignant at this "barbarous warfare carrying on against the inhabitants of the North-American sea-coasts, termed it a *hellish* policy of making war upon old men, women, children, and other innocent and defenceless persons." *Almon's Deb.* iii. 286.

328. *New-London* ;—"The town of New-London, and the

Shall point unto their ashes : this last deed
Was vengeful Arnold's ; Arnold, injur'd chief, 330
Indignant turns from mad Rebellion's lore,
To justice, law, and right ; and had betray'd,
But for an André's virtues, and the firmness
Of three proud veterans of her western race,

stores contained in it, were consumed by fire, an. 1781. To escape the odium which invariably attends the useless and wanton destruction of private property, this fire was attributed to accident ; but all the American accounts unite in declaring it to have been intentional." *Life of W.* iv. 554 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 274.

330. *Arnold, injur'd chief*.—"It is a matter of reproach," says Dr. Ramsay, "to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character ; but it is to the honour of human nature, that a great revolution and an eight years war produced *but one*." And yet this man was once an ornament to his profession, and his merits were valued so highly by his country, that he acquired the name of the American Hannibal, and was presented by Congress with a horse properly caparisoned, as a token of their approbation. Such, alas ! is the instability of man : it is principle alone, deeply and radically imbibed, that can secure him from the allurements of wealth and pleasure ; and lamentable must be the policy of that government which can place its highest trusts in any other hands than those directed by virtue and wisdom.

The history of Arnold's desertion, with the lamented fate of the amiable and gallant major André, is too well known to require insertion. See *Ramsay*, ii. 194—204, and p. 3, i. 235 ; *Life of W.* iv. 327. 332, &c.

334. *Of three proud veterans*—Williams, Vanwert, Paulding, were the names of the three militiamen who so nobly refused major André's tempting offers. The thanks of Congress were voted them, "and a silver medal, with an inscription expressive of their fidelity and patriotism, was directed to be presented to each of them. In addition to this flattering testimony of their worth, and as a further evidence of national gratitude, 200 dollars per annum during life, to be paid in specie, or an equivalent in current money, was voted to each of them." *Life of W.* iv. 347-8. See *Ramsay*, ii. 197-8.

Columbia's Gibraltar to our power. 335
 Arnold! brave, indefatigable chief!
 Whom patience, perseverance, fortitude,
 Whom elevated soul and dignity,
 Have mark'd for highest honours and rewards;
 Him since his ingrate country hath contemn'd, 340
 Let it be ours to greet and dignify;
 And if our prince Abaddon envy not
 His second title to an earthly guest,
 For not his scorpion-locusts have destroy'd
 More of the human race than Arnold's wrath, 345
 Let this his condescension be enroll'd
 In our state office, and in hell's confines
 Let Arnold's title be Apollyon."
 Instant hell's palace rang with loud acclame.
 "Apollyon, Apollyon!" was cried; 350
 "Hail our new prince! Apollyon! All hail!"
 When Satan thus resum'd; "To crown the whole,
 The Indian war-whoop through the distant north,
 And south, and west resounds; their hostile files,
 Led by a Johnston, Butler, and a Brendt, 355

335. *Columbia's Gibraltar*—Westpoint, a strong and important post built for the defence of the North river, was called the Gibraltar of America. This post Arnold had engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British forces. *Ramsay*, ii. 194—6.

342. *Abaddon*—"And they (the locusts with tails like scorpions) had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon." *Revelation*, ix. 11.

355. *Johnston, Butler, and a Brendt*,—Of the horrible cruelties attendant upon Indian warfare, and the impolicy of using them, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and

Have without mercy scalp'd and tomahawk'd
 The arm'd and unarm'd, innocence and guilt,
 Sparing nor helpless age, nor youth, nor sex.
 Ye have the total of our princely deeds ;
 And now Columbia with her Washington 360
 Had fallen beneath our arm, but that her plaints
 Have reach'd the pitying Louis, who, misled

indeed the American history abounds with the sad relation ; but for the authority of the abovementioned names the reader may consult *Ramsay*, i. 228-9 ; ii. 26-8 ; 144-6. *Life of W.* iv. 23-8 ; 36 note, 505-6 ; 565 note. *Belsham*, ii. 376-7. See Extract of a letter from col. Butler to sir Guy Carleton, Aug. 15, 1777, in *Almon's Deb.* viii. 226, 287. Mr. Wilkes, in his speech, Nov. 18, 1777, exclaims ; " Are the scalping-knife and tomahawk necessary calamities of war ? Are they inseparable from it ? God forbid ! I have read, sir, a late proclamation of that great general and preacher Mr. Burgoyne, which is shocking to a civilized and generous nation.—He boasts that he will give stretch to the Indian forces under his direction, and they amount to thousands. Merciful Heaven ! thousands of Indian savages let loose by the command of a British general against our brethren in America ! Human nature shrinks back from such a scene. At his heels leasht in, like hounds, should famine, sword and fire crouch for employment. — What, sir, has been, and continues, the conduct of the Indian savages in war ? Is it not to exercise the most shocking cruelties on their enemies, without distinction of age or sex ? The conduct of this war goes on a par with its principle. Has the feeble old man, the helpless infant, the defenceless female, ever experienced the tender mercies of an Indian savage ? He drinks the blood of his enemy, and his favourite repast is on human flesh," &c.—*Almon's Deb.* viii, p. 10-11.

362. *the pitying Louis*.—His most Christian Majesty Louis XVI. conformably to the preliminaries proposed by his secretary Mr. Gerard, entered, Feb. 6, 1778, " into treaties of amity, commerce, and alliance with the United States on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity." The commissioners on the part of the Americans were Dr. Franklin, Mr. Silas Deane, and Mr. Arthur Lee ; and the count de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs, was the person who

By Deane and Vergennes, sends them timely aid
 Of men and gold. Now Washington's proud hopes
 Surpass all bounds: see where the chieftain dusts 365
 His rapid march, with all his motley troops,
 Through the Virginian deserts, and those plains.
 Where preticent vultures hover, and where dogs
 And ravenous wolves watch with fell eagerness
 Their destin'd prey; where horrid spectres gleam, 370
 Making night nightless, and nought else is heard
 But shrieks, and howls, and clangs, and loud laments:
 'There must we meet him with the force of hell
 Rang'd in close phalanx, and deep serried file;
 For there perchance we once may try again 375
 The strength of Michael with the heavenly host
 Cloth'd in new arms, of which they stand in need,
 Since erst with well-devised enginry
 Them of their ancient armour we despoil'd.
 And be ye not dismay'd; for 'tis decreed 380
 That on that fatal day some potent chief
 Shall cease to rule: O may this conquering arm,
 This arm my God, my only God in whom
 I put my trust, enforce the blest decree!

principally conducted the conferences on the part of H. M. C. Majesty. See *Ramsay*, ii. 60—8; compare *Life of W.* iii. 434. 446, &c. "The joy of the Americans produced by this event was unbounded." See *Life of W.* iv. 20.

366. *motley troops*.—There was such a deficiency of clothing among the American troops, that upon their junction with their French allies they felt considerable degradation: "Some whole lines, officers as well as men, were shabby, and a great proportion of the privates were without shirts." *Ramsay*, ii. 199.

Then shall our kingdom stand, and hell again 385
 For lengthen'd ages triumph o'er mankind.
 But since far other cares your prince's time
 Must now employ to aid the publick weal,
 And, above all, with circumspective eye
 To watch the deep designs of Michael's soul, 390
 'Tis fit that we should delegate our power
 To some intrepid chieftain; and to whom
 With greater safety can we trust command
 Than to hell's favourite, thee, brave Moloch! thee?
 'I was thou, with Mammon and with Belial join'd,
 Who first into the breasts of ministers 396
 And rulers didst instil oppression rank,
 And those despotick laws that never fail,
 Sooner or late, to stir rebellion up,
 And civil war, which being untimely rais'd 400
 Do but augment the powers of the strong,

401. *Do but augment, &c.*—Upon this subject the reader will possibly be gratified with perusing the opinion of the celebrated sir John Barnard, who, speaking of the rebellion of 1745, observes; “Can any one suppose that such a calamity could be brought upon us, without some neglect or misconduct in those whose duty it was to guard against every possible calamity? I shall not say that this was a wilful neglect, or that any minister thereby designed to furnish the disaffected with an opportunity to rebel; but this I will say, that an unsuccessful rebellion is always of great use to a minister; because it serves to increase and establish his power, and furnishes him with an opportunity to gratify many of his friends, as well as to be revenged of some of his enemies. No rebellion can therefore break out in this country, but what must afford matter of suspicion against those who happen to be our ministers at the time. If the rebellion proceeds from disaffection, it is to be suspected that the minister, for his own private ends, furnished them with an opportunity to rebel; if from discontent, it is to be suspected that the minister, by his oppression, de-

That hell admir'd thy wisdom; and thy valour,
Thy desperate valour is so known to all,
As needs no tongue of mine to blaze it forth :
'Tis of that valour now we have great need ; 405
We must not barter, we must wage the war.
Take then the imperial standard, for to thee
We delegate command in this dire strife ;
Quick to Virginia skim thy rapid way
With all our horrent legions; there anon 410
Ourself will meet thee, wrapt in other form,
Darkness, or cloud, or else some animal,
Some vulture, or perchance that sighted bird
That looks with eyes undazzled at the sun.
Haste then, be gone; there is no time for words ; 415
Take the command, and Satan's will be done."

Thus spake the prince of darkness, while his eyes
Flash'd thick Gorgonic flames. He spake, nor
sat ;

His ponderous limbs resting on that fam'd spear
Whose glittering top illum'd the vaulted dome. 420
And now, obedient to his prince's will,
Azazel had unfurl'd the mighty ensign,
When Mammon with complacent looks uprose,
And with persuasive words address'd his prince;
"With you, great leader! will I end my speech, 425
With you begin it; for on you depend

signedly provoked them to rebel; and as a reasonable suspicion is always good ground for a parliamentary inquiry, I think it ought upon every occasion to be the certain consequence of a rebellion." *Debrett's Deb.* ii. p. 59, Oct. 28, 1745.

Our firmest hopes; but well, O prince! you know,
For nothing does escape your piercing eye,
That Mammon has not spar'd or toil or pains,
To compass those great ends you have design'd. 430
My favour'd isle, and favour'd justly is,
For tho' among the wise and better part
My influence is feeble, yet the earth
Scarce holds a spot so dear unto my soul,
Abundant so in votaries; for here 435
My altars smoke with unextinguish'd incense,
Before my idol is profusely pour'd
Incessant adoration; scarce one being
In heaven, or earth, or hell, is so rever'd:
This favour'd spot have I just left, nor here 440
Had Mammon now been seen, but to refill
His coffers seven times emptied: much I fear
That even hell will cease the vast supply.
But though I've dearly bought, yet have I well
Secur'd what I have bought: What if I've lost 445
Some solitary few, whom Chatham's voice
And inbred patriot worth have, ere too late,
Recover'd from my grasp; yet have I gain'd
Britain's whole host of hirelings to my flock,
Whose minds my lessons have so deep impress'd 450
That nothing can erase them. Thus I've taught:
'Banish thy conscience; for it is a despot
That rules with arbitrary sway, and yields
No harvest to its owner. Extirpate
All principle; for principle requires 455
A steady, constant, persevering toil

In the straight line of virtue ; but the ways
 Of men being crooked ways, it will not lead
 To honours, titles, dignities, or wealth.
 Forsake thy friends ; for well the courtier knows
 That friendship is, like virtue, but a name, 451
 A mere ideal semblance, nothing real.
 And above all, assume the patriot's tongue
 Till you have gain'd your will, which when obtain'd
 React the despot ; for what is a people ? 455
 An ignorant mass made to obey the laws ;
 'Tis wealth alone is wise and ought to rule.
 And when you wish to triumph o'er men's rights,
 Tell them in sounding triplets they are free.
 Then let your preamble be full of words 470

466. *made to obey the laws* ;—See *Belsham*, vi. p. 13, where a noted bishop is mentioned as declaring ; “ that speculative and philosophical disquisitions upon the subject of government, though they might be allowed, did more harm than good ; but that public discussions of such topics ought to be prevented : and that he did not know, in fact, *what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them.*” Ye Lockes ! ye Sidneys ! ye Hampdens ! ye Franklins ! I think I see your noble spirits smiling at the puny effusions of upstart presumption ; I think I see your indignation more kindled at the patient apathy of the hearers, than at the daring boldness of the deliverer of such dogmas. But this, alas ! is but one small link in that great chain of causes and effects, which are fast leading to the destruction of the British constitution. See a similar sentiment to the bishop's delivered by, lord 43. Germaine, *Debrett*, vii. 107.

470. *Then let your preamble*—That the preamble of a bill has not unfrequently been at variance with its clauses, is a complaint of long standing, in this country. Our best lawyers and statesmen have too often had reason to express their disapprobation at such a proceeding. See the speeches of Dunning, Feb. 17, 1777, *Almon's Deb.* vi. 239—241. Lord Shelburne, Nov. 10, 1778, *ib.* v. 68. Sir John Barnard, March 10, 1740, *Chandler's Deb.* xii. 270.

Sweet as Hyblæan honey, when your laws,
 Whether enacting, or declaratory,
 Are most subversive of the people's rights ;
 Or otherways, amid some other clauses
 Of various import, foist by silent stealth 475
 Some dubious clause with latent mischief fraught ;
 And if the people should in tumult rise,
 (For action and reaction equal are,)
 Send them to battle 'gainst the friends of man :
 Tell them such friends are natural enemies, 480
 Who to maintain the blest relations
 Of peace and amity are incapable.
 And in one period to embrace the whole,
 Do as you would not others do to you.'
 Thus have I taught, O prince ! and my success 485
 Has e'en surpass'd my most gigantick hopes ;

474. *amid some other clauses, &c.*—This is another piece of ministerial dexterity of still longer standing than the one just described. Thus in the Land Tax Bill passed April 1738, "a clause was fraudulently slipped in to exempt the prince of Wales from paying the sixpence in the pound, called civil-list money, which amounted to upwards of 1000*l.*" *Chandler's Deb.* ix. p. vii. Minutes of the third Session, &c. Under this head may be ranged the various encroachments in the Mutiny Acts. See the speech of Mr. Harley, Feb. 24, 1740-1, *Chandler*, xii. 141-2. Mr. Thornton in his speech on the Militia Bill, Nov. 1751, says ; "I must not however omit to take notice that the militia laws have been spoiled by design, some villainous clauses having been artfully intruded into them, which were previously known to be such as would render them entirely useless." *Debrett's Deb.* iii. 113. See sir W. Meredith's speech, Jan. 24, 1772; *Debrett*, vi. 156, and the complaints of Mr. Grey and the M. of Lansdowne concerning the surreptitious clause that repealed the salutary restrictions of the Bank, *Beckham*, vi. 36-7. 44-5.

All Europe knows it, for it feels my power;
 E'en Asia forgets her Mahomet,
 And bows the knee to Mammon. But I've fail'd
 In one important point; not all my arts 490
 So manifold, and various, can seduce
 The haughty soul of Chatham; he, proud peer,
 Disdains all compromise; his eloquence
 Thunders and lightens through the British senate,
 And rives their very hearts; not even North 495
 With all his haughtiness and pomp of power,
 Not Hillsborough's frown, nor Grenville's potent
 tongue
 Can stop the mighty torrent: much I dread
 The dire effect; already Rockingham, 499
 With Shelburne, Conway, Saville, Grafton's duke,
 Richmond, with Granby, Sawbridge, Dunning, Wray,

497. *Grenville's potent tongue*—Mr. Grenville was the celebrated author of the measure of taxing America, a measure which the sagacity of a Walpole thought too hazardous to venture upon; but said that "he should leave it to some more daring successor in office to make the experiment." See *Bellsham*, i. 112—118. 320.

499. *Rockingham, &c.*—These patriotic defenders of the rights and liberties of their brethren in America were ably and warmly supported by their compatriots, Dowdeswell, Wilkes, Hartley, Fuller, Luttrell, Johnstone, lords John and George Cavendish, &c. &c. But their efforts were vain, and the consequences were such as must always be expected from the direction of passion and imbecility. That some of these statesmen afterwards forgot the principles upon which they had acted during the American troubles, is a truth which every honest man must deplore; but it was no part of the poet's duty to omit paying the debt of gratitude to those men whose exertions contributed so largely to the happiness of our transatlantic brethren.

Camden and Barré, Beckford, Burke, and Fox,
 Second the patriot's efforts ; and so second,
 As when Aurora from the roscate bed
 Of her Tithonus rising slow dispels 505
 The vapours of the night ; but this be mine
 With these replenish'd coffers to forefend.
 Ask every Briton what he loves most dear,
 He'll tell you Liberty, nor would he lend
 One momentary aid to enslave mankind, 510
 Much less his brethren of the self-same blood,
 Language, and manners, but that sophistry,
 Miscalled eloquence, and Gorgian lore,
 Which makes the worse appear the better cause,
 Freezes the genuine instinct of his soul : 515
 Forgetting principle, he trusts in men ;
 This is his bane ; could he but once be taught
 To trust men less, and principle love more,
 Not all the arts of hell and earth combin'd

509. *He'll tell you Liberty*.—"There is (said the duke of Buckingham, Oct. 13, 1675,) a thing called liberty, which, whatsoever some men may think, is that the people of England are fondest of ; it is that they will never part with ; and is that His Majesty (Car. II.) in his speech has promised us to take a particular care of." *Timberland's Lords' Debates*, i. 164. True ; the people of England never will part with it ; it is their birthright ; it has descended to them from their Saxon progenitors, and their history will tell its enemies that they have frequently gone very great lengths to preserve it. "God send the prerogative touch not our liberty!" was the exclamation of the people in the time of Elizabeth, which gave such offence to Mr. Secretary Cecil ; and perhaps other secretaries would be equally offended were they now to exclaim—God send that corruption destroy not the constitution! *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* i. 936. See *Bolsham*, i. 267-8.

Could do him further harm. Britannia too, 520
That virgin goddess, spurns my proffer'd aid ;
She cast a wistful look to western skies,
' 'Tis not my deed,' she cried, and sped her flight
To where Gibraltar towers above the clouds,
And by her Elliot pours destructive fire 525
Upon the astounded foe. Still Mammon's powers
Are not enfeebled ; this Columbia knows,
And knowing feels, for all her enemies
Owe not their frail existence but to me.
But now I must return, my coffers fill'd, 530
Yet with firm hope at time's appointed hour
To meet brave Moloch on the plains of death."
Scarce had he ended, and his prince's eye
Glanc'd approbation, when Azazel tall
Unfurl'd hell's streaming ensign to the sound 535
Of countless clarions. But no loud acclame,
No universal shout new courage rais'd,
For o'er the fiery surge a sudden blast,
Surcharg'd with sulphurous and with nitrous smoke,
Impregnate with inflammable, rush'd forth 540
With fell impetuosity, and consum'd
Instant the imperial streamer. Satan stood
Speechless ; and e'en with horror Moloch gaz'd.
As when some subterranean wind confin'd
In Ætna's sulphurous womb sudden expands, 545
Struggling for birth, and pours whole torrents out
Of liquid lava o'er the fertile plains
Of Sicily ; nor mound, nor dam can stop

Its wide destructive course, but herds, and flocks,
And farms, and woods, and plains are all de-
stroy'd ; 550

This when the wretched shepherd sees from far,
He first with silent horror views the waste,
But soon gives way to grief and lamentation ;
So view'd the infernal host their favourite sign
Consum'd before their eyes. But Moloch's soul,
Recover'd from its trance, which serv'd to inflame
His wrath tenfold, as some fam'd combatant,
Faint with continued toil, by partial rest
Imbibes new vigour, and renews the war
Amidst applauding thousands, so the fiend 560
'Rapt in himself seiz'd on the burning staff,
And holding high in air ; " Revenge," he cries,
" Revenge, revenge ; under this ensign die
Or conquer." " Die or conquer," echoed back
From furthest hell the long-resounding host. 565
And now the bristling legions 'gan to rise
From off the burning marle, and in mid air
Floated in depth immense, while from their arms
A gleamy horror lighten'd thro' the expanse.
Nor did they long await their furious chief, 570
Who straight in the midst commanded Azazel
To uprear the half-burnt standard ; which dread
sign

When Beelzebub, who led the vanguard, saw,
Onward he rush'd with more than whirlwind's force
Through the iron gates of hell, and o'er the bridge
Of Chaos rapid skimm'd the murky way 576

Up to the realm of light ; him Molech saw
 With joy so zealous in the cause, and now
 Press'd on him hard, grinning a ghastly grin,
 And hissing slaughter from his horrid jaws. 580
 And now, with Bacchanalian roar, Chemos
 The obscene, and lewdest Belial led on
 The rear, with all its devilish engiary,
 And pass'd hell's bounds ; the dying clarion now
 Was scarcely heard, and Satan pensive stood 585
 Pondering within his solitary breast
 The dark decrees of fate ; pensive he stood
 And gaz'd on Pandæmonium ; but sense
 Returned soon, for lo ! before his eyes 590
 The hell-wrought palace gradually sunk
 Into the fiery surge, and not a trace
 Was left behind. — " Enough, enough ! " he cried,
 While tears angelick pour'd adown his cheeks,
 " I want no other omen ; well I know 595
 My end's at hand ; but by this spear I swear,
 Which shall full soon be drench'd in human blood,
 That earth shall rue my fall." He said, and turn'd
 T'ward his ethereal steeds, and glittering car,
 Whose wheels were wrought of adamant, and roll'd
 On platinæan axle, while the spokes 601
 Of radiant urns pour'd celestial light
 The body of some new-discover'd substance,
 Metallic, or carbonic, or lignose,
 But not yet analyz'd by mortal hand. 605
 Into this flaming car the chieftain vaults ;
 And the ethereal steeds, who know his will,

And need nor goad nor spur, no sooner feel
The awful presence of their mighty chief,
Than quick as forked lightning with one bound 610
Spring from hell's confines to Columbia's Alps.
There Satan sat, watching with keenest eye
The motions of his foe, and round about
In circling volumes pour'd hell's darkest clouds.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.



WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK II.

ARGUMENT OF THE SECOND BOOK.

**Invocation. Episode—Progress of Liberty. Revolution in
Switzerland. William Tell. — Fall of Griesler.**

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

TRASCENDENT Mind! For by what higher name
Can the confined intellect of man
Address thee, or adore thee; Great Unknown!
To whom infinite is finite, and the obscure
Lucid as thy own sun; who fill'st all space, 5
All time with thy incomprehensible.
Blest above all the blest! Since mortal tongue
Without thy holy influence nought avails,
To whom compar'd the human intellect
Is but a glow-worm to the orb of day, 10
And present, past, and future, all are one;
Grant me thy heavenly aid, and deign to guide
My wandering thoughts, while I describe to men
That vast beneficence which hath remov'd
The film of darkness from the human eye, 15
And let in light. Blest, trebly blest is he,
Whom thou hast chosen to fulfil thy will

1. *Transcendent Mind!*—Νοῦς ἰσχυρὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ πάντων ἐπιστα-
μὴν, καὶ δάσκαλος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Plut. de Vita Homeri*, ii. sect. 114.

On earth, nor yet unblest that tongue which dares
 Under thy guidance such great acts recount.
 Of all the evils that have scourg'd mankind, 20
 From the beginning of the world till now,
 There is not one so adverse to the will
 Of God, and upright man, as that of war,
 That mad, unnatural, fabricated ill.
 Whence, then, it may be ask'd, has this fell scourge
 So long oppress'd mankind? 'Tis ignorance, 26
 The rankest ignorance, at once the cause,
 And also the effect; 'tis this alone
 Which man impels his fellow-man to slay,
 And long hath delug'd all the world with blood. 30
 That a frail mortal, whose short life to ills
 Unnumber'd subject, should unpitying stand
 'Mid slaughter'd thousands, and recount with joy

33. *and recount with joy*—So *Par. Lost*, xi. 691; See *Reg.* iii. 71.

To overcome in battel, and subdue
 Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
 Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
 Of human glory, and for glory done
 Of triumph, to be stil'd great conquerors,
 Patrons of mankind, Gods, and sons of Gods,
Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.

Unfortunately these glorious destroyers, these triumphant plagues of men, occupy the whole volume of history, whether ancient or modern, sacred or profane: and yet the hypocrites profess to worship that Being who requires of us *to do justly, and to love mercy*; and to venerate that Saviour, who endeavoured to bring *peace on earth, and good will towards men*. But a "transcendently excellent Being must regard with displeasure whatever has a tendency to disturb the moral order, happiness, and harmony of his creation."† And if he regards it with displeasure, he must, he will put an end to it. The world is in its infancy, when it puts on the toga of manhood, it will throw off childish things. See *Belsham's Hist. G. III.* vi. 349.

The horrid desolation he hath caus'd;
 The wives whom he hath widow'd; and the sons 35
 Whose fathers' blood his murderous blade hath spilt;
 And call this glory! O my God! My God!
 Grant that such glory may be far remov'd
 From me and mine! Thy own vast thoughts and acts
 So instantaneous are, that to our eyes 40
 They seem as one, yet well thou know'st that man
 Must thro' the gates of evil pass to good,
 And from the effect alone can learn the cause;
 And dear-bought is that knowledge: but the time,
 I speak prophetick, but I speak from truth, 45
 The time will come, when wars at length will cease.
 Full well I know some barbarous conflicts yet
 Must desolate our race, until that hour,
 That happy hour arrive, which then will come,
 When the two rival nations of the earth 50

50. *When the two rival nations, &c.*—"Between our two countries, (said the French to the British monarch, an. 1792,) new connections ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalry which has done so much mischief to both daily wearing away. It becomes two kings, who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to connect themselves by such ties as will appear to be durable in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own interests. I consider the success of the alliance, in which I wish you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance; I consider it as necessary to the stability of the respective constitutions, and the internal tranquillity of our two kingdoms; and, I will add, that our union ought to command peace to Europe." Could a prophet have delivered greater truths? In the same spirit is written the letter of the First Consul to His Britannick Majesty, Dec. 25, 1799. "How can two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence

Shall see the folly of their private hate,
 And, firmly knit in hand and heart, restore
 To suffering man his liberties and laws.
 But this depends not on their will alone,
 But on the will of Him, whose heavenly light 55
 Must first illume their minds, and further yet
 Remove the mist of ignorance from their eyes.
 Long had mankind, submissive to the rod
 Of their despotick rulers, patient born
 The most oppressive burthens, and obey'd, 60
 With superstitious reverence, those laws
 Which the caprice and arbitrary will
 Of their proud rulers fram'd. Nor had they yet
 Dar'd to assert their rights; they knew them not,
 And ignorance was weakness, which their lords 65
 Turn'd to their own account; and if perchance

require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that *peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory!*—France and England, by the *abuse of their strength*, may still for a long time, to the *misfortune of all nations*, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the *fate of all civilised nations* is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world." Prophecy again! and the prophecy will be remembered when the scornful rejection is forgotten. Nor must I omit to record that noble sentiment expressed by the First Consul to Mr. Fox in 1803; "that the globe might be considered as inhabited by two great nations, the eastern and the western; and that hostilities between any of the powers of Europe must be regarded as *a species of civil war.*" *Belsham*, iv. 458; vii. 306-7; viii. 420. See the note *Id.* 391; and see *Append. E. to Miles's Letter to the Prince of Wales.*

"———Tanton' placuit concurrere motu,
 Jupiter, æternâ gentes in pace futuras?"

Æn. xii. 504.

Oppression wak'd a murmur in their breasts,
 Religion forward stept, and thus proclaim'd ;
 " Kings are the Lord's anointed, by God's grace
 They hold their heavenly mission, murmur not, 70
 Lest, as proud Pharaoh's host, who dar'd of old
 To oppose the will of Heaven, ye too be plung'd
 Into a sea of woe ; ye are profane,
 Stiff necked, ignorant, an iron race,
 And must be rul'd ; we are the chosen few, 75
 The golden race, by Wisdom Infinite
 Selected and illum'd ; we then alone
 Know what is right and fit ; your murmurs cease,
 And if ye would be sav'd, obey our will."
 Long pause ensued, for much the people lov'd, 80
 And fear'd their pastors ; till at last their ills
 Increased so, that neither fear, nor love

69. *by God's grace &c.*—Blackstone, towards the conclusion of his excellent chapter upon the King and his Title, b. i. ch. 3, observes, that "divine indefeasible hereditary right, when coupled with the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, is surely of all constitutions the most thoroughly slavish and dreadful." What then must be the feeling of the British patriot when he hears such sentiments as the following delivered by an English bishop before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793. "God to his own secret purpose directs the worst actions of tyrants no less than the best of godly princes: man's *abuse*, therefore, of his *delegated authority*, is to be borne by *resignation*, like any other of God's judgments. The opposition of the individual to the sovereign power is an *opposition to God's providential arrangements*," &c. Our ancestors at the glorious Revolution held a very different doctrine, and acted upon very different principles—principles that have been confirmed by our best lawyers, and indeed have become the maxims of the law itself. "*Rex debet esse sub lege, quia lex facit regem.*" See *Blackstone*, b. i. ch. vii. *Belsham*, v. 45-6.

74. *an iron race*,—See *Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. p. 319.*

Could silence them, and thus they loud complain'd;
" If kings by grace divine appointed are
To rule and govern, and if ye, O priests! 85
The chosen few, whom Wisdom Infinite
Guides and illumines; why do not then your words
And actions right accord? The heavenly Power
Is merciful, and good, and not a bird
Falleth unto the ground without his care; 90
While ye, who, as ye say, derive your power
From his divine appointment, merciless,
Your people with oppressions overload,
And tho' we fall in thousands to the earth
Obeying your commands, ye neither grieve 95
Nor yet lament our fall, and if ye weep,
Ye weep unpitying, nor yet relax
Our grievous burthens. First by your own acts
Shew your divine appointment; be ye kind,
Be merciful, be as your Father is; 100
And our obedience, and our gratitude
Shall prompt repay your bounty, and your love."
Thus spake the injur'd people, and the press,
That happiest invent of the human mind,
Spread far and wide their plaints; and reasoning
men 105
Began to ponder deeply what was meant
By God's anointed, and the grace divine.
But time was not yet come, and the hearts of kings
By this discussion were yet harden'd more.
And now the most excruciating pains, 110
And racks, and wheels, and tortures horrible,

Such as not ancient fable e'er devis'd
For punishments in hell, were yet devis'd
By the wicked wit of man to punish man.
Obedience implicit was the rule, 115
The only rule, by which unhappy man
Could measure his existence. Creeds of faith
Were made and unmade at the mere caprice
Of priests and synods, and the few who dar'd
To doubt their rectitude drew on themselves 120
Severe affliction. Gracious God! How oft
Amid their torments have these upright men
Invok'd thy holy name, and cried aloud;
"O Lord! Receive our soul; it is for thee
And thy truth's sake we suffer; but forgive 125
These our tormentors, open their eyes, O Lord!
That they may see thy glory, and become
The vindicators of thy ways to men.
Grant that our sufferings may diffuse around
The peopled earth, the light of truth and thee." 130
The Almighty heard in part the martyrs' prayers,
And part the winds dispers'd. The light of truth
Began to dawn upon the human mind,
But no light dawn'd upon the minds of kings;
But purple-finger'd Persecution 135
Stalk'd round the globe with vast gigantick strides,
Her head amid the clouds, her feet on earth.
The Almighty saw that man, whom in his image
He had created, and who breath'd his breath,
Had quite forgot his heavenly origin, 140
And all those lovely precepts, which he taught

Of mercy and forgiveness ; and instead
Had dar'd to trespass on his Maker's rights,
And take away that life he could not give.
The Almighty saw, and saw it was not good, 145
But call'd no council to deliberate,
On what was right and proper ; for what need
Of slow-deliberation to that Being
Whose thoughts are acts, all-perfect, and all-wise ?
And thus He spake ; " Let Freedom's sacred
light 150
Rise o'er the earth ; " and Freedom's light arose.
Heaven heard the cheering sound ; Earth saw the
light ;

And Heaven and Earth re-echoed mutual joy.

And first Helvetia's brave and hardy sons,
By the sacred warmth invigorate, arose 155
From their deep slumber, and recall'd to mind
Their noble ancestry, that brav'd so long
The Roman tyrants, who would have impos'd
The slavish yoke upon their stubborn necks ;
And thus amid the assembled states uprose 160
The intrepid Tell ; long time his free-born soul
Had spurn'd the Austrian Albert's iron yoke ;
Albert that tyrant who disdain'd to hear
The people's just complaints, nor would redress
Their violated rights, but with a rod 165
Of iron rul'd ; and thus the hero spake ;
" Friends, Warriours, Countrymen ! The time is
come

When our oppressed country loudly calls

With more than mortal voice on all her sons,
To cast the yoke of slavery from their necks, 170
Or perish in the attempt. Have ye forgot
What time your haughty nobles ye expell'd
For violation of your charter'd rights ?
And when those despots charg'd you with rebellion
Before the Imperial Rodolph ; have ye forgot 175
With what benignant aspect that wise prince
Heard your complaints, approved all your acts,
Confirm'd your ancient rights, and granted new ?
And will ye now bow down your suppliant necks
Beneath the haughty Albert's iron yoke, 180
Who is as much unlike his noble sire,
As mid-night darkness is the risen sun ?
What confiscations, fines, imprisonments,
What horrid tortures daily have we born
Without redress, for if we but complain 185
Our miseries are doubled ! And now, as if
To shew how far tyrannick wantonness
Can sport with human feelings, see where Griesler
Our arbitrary despot, Albert's tool,
Hath set his mark of slavery in Altorf, 190
And order'd all on pain of instant death
To bow before it ; and those suppliant slaves
Who will obey the order, let them live,

190. *his mark of slavery*—Griesler, the tyrannical governor of Ury, had set his cap upon a post in the market-place of Altorf, and commanded every person to pull off his hat to it on pain of death. See *Salmon's Modern History*, vol. ii. p. 257 ; from whence the historical part of this, and the following book, is chiefly derived.

Old Tell will spurn the tyrant." Here his voice
Stopt utterance, for his heart was full ; and now 195
The vales of Altorf rang with loud acclame,
And all Helvetia's sons betook to arms.
But Griesler's heart was harden'd, and his eyes
Were stricken blind by Heaven's celestial wrath.
For thus it is with tyrants ; they nor care, 200
Nor feel for human misery, but proceed
With blind infatuation, heaping ills
On ills reiterate, until at last
The limping feet of justice overtake
Their long-repeated injuries, and they 205
Unwept, unpitied, unlamented die.
And such was Griesler's fate ; madden'd with rage
The insensate tyrant seiz'd the aged sire,
Whose venerable locks, and grave aspect
Had to commiseration mov'd e'en brutes, 210
And with out-wanton'd wantonness inflicts
A punishment, that e'en malignity,
Come hot from deepest hell, could scarce have fram'd.
This venerable hero had a son,
Born in his age, his hope, and prop of life, 215
In whom Helvetia saw the father's worth,
And mark'd him for her own : him Griesler's guards,
Eager to obey their master, instant seiz'd,
And brought before the tyrant, who with smiles
Deeply malignant thus the sire address'd ; 220
" And think'st thou, haughty rebel ! that a rout
Of unarm'd rabble can my power defy,
Back'd by the strength of Austrian Albert's arm ?

Know, base-born slave! who bear'st a name unknown,

Even unto thy countrymen, that thou, 225

And such as thou, whom Heaven hath plac'd beneath

Our rule and guidance, should with fear and awe

Name e'en our name, much less dispute our will.

But since with impious tongue thou dar'st to doubt

The wisdom of our acts, and hast forgot 230

Our heavenly appointment, know 'tis fit

A bright example should be made of thee,

And this thy offspring; hear then our resolve;

Soon as the morning sun shall gild the tops

Of yon proud mountains with its early rays, 235

Thee and thy son my guards shall straight conduct

Unto the market-place of Altorf, there

On pain of instant death to him, and thee,

I charge thee aim thy arrow at an apple

Plac'd on the youngster's head, which if thou miss 240

Thou certain diest: thus shall these rebels know

The power of him whom they have dar'd provoke."

Thus spake the tyrant, and the heart of Tell,

Whom even dungeons, and the keenest racks

Had scarce appall'd, paternal love, and fear 245

-Transpierced through; and thus with faltering

tongue

The veteran exclaim'd; "O spare my son!

His youth, his innocence do loudly plead

In his behalf; I am alone the cause;

Let me then only die; I stand prepar'd." 250

But tyrants know no mercy in their wrath,

'Tis on the feelings of mankind they act,
And how they outrage these is not their care.
Thus Griesler, when he saw the aged sire
Shrink back with horror from his damn'd decree,
His harden'd heart rejoic'd with double joy, 256
And grinning malice thus the despot spake;

"Have I at last, thou proud rebellious! found

✓ The means to curb thy daring spirit? Know
That Griesler ne'er recalls what is pronounc'd; 260
And mark, one moment shouldst thou hesitate,
That moment dies thy son before thy face."
He said, and straight the guards their prisoners lodg'd
In a deep dungeon's sad security.

And now the circling Hours led forth the Sun 265
Thro' the eastern gates of heav'n; when Altorf's
sons,

Whom sleep, that soothes the cares of other men,
Had nor refresh'd, nor sooth'd, for if perchance
Some minds oppress'd with overwhelming toil
Sunk into wakeful slumbers, phantoms dire, 270
And all that fancy unrestrain'd by judgment
Could form, or feature to affrighted minds
Rose into view, but most of all the fate
Of their revered Tell, which, being unknown,
Was trebly horrible, fill'd all with woe. 275
But now they rose, call'd by the radiate beams
Of the far-piercing sun. Them Melchdal saw

277, 285, 286. Arnold Melchdal, Walter Furst, and Werner Stouffacher were three of the principal leaders of the revolution. See *Salmon's Modern History*.

Assembling, thick as autumn's falling leaves,
With bold inquiry fraught, for much their hearts
Yearn'd for the sufferers, in whose fate they saw 280
Their own best rights, and privileges involv'd;
And Melchdal's heart was gladden'd at the sight:
His labouring breast had many sleepless nights
Been pondering o'er Helvetia's wretched lot;
Nor did his bold compeers, the intrepid Furst, 285
And Stouffacher, not second his designs:
These patriots knew that man lost half his worth
The moment that he ceased to be free;
And though by fear and terrour tyrants rule,
And triumph o'er men's minds, (which truth in-
deed
The imprison'd Tell too well illustrated,) 290
Yet tyranny but triumphs for a time,
And truth, and reason will return at last.
When these compatriots saw Helvetia's sons
Recover'd from their trance, (for Griesler's bold, 295
And daring deed had overawed their minds,)
As a fond father hastens to redeem
An only son, whom some proud Algerine,
Or base Tunisian corsair has enslav'd;
So them the patriots hasten'd to relume 300
With freedom's holy light. Alas! how hid
From mortal eye is dark futurity!
Scarce had they reach'd the assembly, and the waves
Of popular acclamation 'gan subside;
When on a sudden the loud trumpet's voice, 305
With the shrill clarion, and the hollow sound

Of the ground-shaking hoof, renew'd their fears.
And lo! the tyrant's dreaded form appear'd
Looking fix'd hate; around him throng'd his guards
In close battalion, and in the midst were seen 310
The god-like veteran, and his dauntless son;
When thus the herald's voice aloud proclaim'd;
"Ye sons of Altorf! Since ye thus have dar'd
Dispute our sovereign will, and disobey
Our just and wise commands; we have resolv'd 315
To check rebellion at the fountain-head,
And give a lesson to futurity.
Thus then we have ordain'd, that the elder Tell,
Placing an apple on the younger's head,
Aim at it with his arrow; if he miss 320
He instant dies, and should he hesitate,
That moment dies his son before his face,
Nor shall himself escape. Thus shall ye learn
The power of him whom ye have dar'd provoke."
'Twixt word, and deed, there was no space of time;
Already had the armed slaves fulfill'd 326
The orders of their leader, and around
The unhappy sufferers stood in firm array;
While the astonish'd multitude without
Were mute with fear; when thus the aged sire 330
Pour'd out to heaven's King his pious prayer;
"Almighty Pow'r! who know'st the hearts of men
Without the utterance of words! O hear
A father's wishes; spare, O spare my son!
And from thy holy fountain, Gracious God! 335
Pour forth a beam of mercy o'er our sins!"

The Almighty heard, and cast on Piety,
The meekest seraph of the heav'nly choir,
A glance that spake in volumes. Quick as thought
The seraph hover'd o'er the head of Tell, 340
Unseen by others' eyes. Depriv'd of sense,
And speech the hero stood; when the angel took
The bow and arrow from his trembling hand,
And by celestial aim the apple fell
Transpierced to the ground. Her mission done 345
The seraph wing'd her rapid flight to heav'n,
Where joy angelick beam'd upon her face.
But now the pious pair with out-stretch'd hands
Pour'd forth in silent pray'r their gratitude
To the seat of mercy; while their countrymen 350
Made all Helvetia's mountains echo back
Repeated Hallelujahs. But the tyrant
Fell disappointment seiz'd, and black revenge
Which would be satiate; nor wanted he
Occasion seeming to fulfil his will; 355
For had the unhappy sire with erring hand
Miss'd his designed aim, and slain his son,
A second reed had pierc'd the tyrant's heart.
This Griesler learnt, and as some lioness
Prowls round the sheepfold in the evening's dusk,
Press'd sore by hunger, and maternal care, 361
But fears to enter, for both men and dogs
Keep there strict watch; at length by nature's wants
Imperious urg'd, she overleaps the fence,
And having gorg'd herself with blood, conveys 365
Some mangled carcass to her distant young,

62 WASHINGTON, OR LIBERTY RESTORED. BOOK II.

Pursued by dogs and men ; so Griesler seiz'd
The unhappy Tell, and Cassenach's lonely tow'rs
Had now receiv'd the sire ; when clouds of dust,
A true but silent messenger, and gleams 370
Of distant arms awaken'd all his fears.
Then Griesler learnt to tremble ; then he knew
The prince who rules not in his subjects' hearts
Is struck by Heaven's wrath, and falls despis'd.
And thus fell Griesler, and that tyrant race 375
Who long oppress'd Helvetia ; for her sons,
An armed nation, warm'd by Heaven's fire,
And urg'd by injuries, had now aris'n
A light to light the world, and show to all,
A nation's voice is but the voice of God. 380

368. *Cassenach's lonely tow'rs*—A castle situated on the lake .
Lucerne.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK III.

ARGUMENT OF THE THIRD BOOK.

Episode—Progress of Liberty continued. Revolution in the Netherlands. Queen Elizabeth assists the Prince of Orange. Her Speech upon that Occasion. Prophecy concerning the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Speeches of Philip II. and his Brother John; of William Prince of Orange. Spanish Armada.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

HERE stop, my Muse! and own thy gratitude
That thou wert not in being at that time
When ignorance' deep whirlpools whelm'd the world,
And all was vice and woe; when if perchance
Some genius less benighted rose to light, 5
'T was only to pour forth in barbarous rhyme
The praise of murderers and the drunkard's broils.
'Tis from the evils of those wretched times
'That virtue even now deplores that man
Must wade to freedom thro' a sea of blood. 10
But thus hath Fate ordain'd; Wisdom alone
Can purge the mental ray to bear the light
Of truth, and virtue, liberty, and love.
Hail then, thou period blest! when heaven's decree
Instructed man to know, and feel his rights; 15
The light once risen ne'er will set again,
But in meridian glory eternal shine
Of brightest essence co-essential.
Helvetia now had rais'd her powerful voice

Echoing to furthest west ; and first with joy 20
 Batavia heard, for there a D'Alva's crimes
 As far eclipsed Griesler's, as the mind
 Of the deep-judging sage outsoars the ken
 Of those purblind, and puny politicians
 Whose molish eyes see but the point oppos'd. 25
 Batavia heard, and straight a host of men
 Uprose to hail the joyful sound. Them oft
 Had Philip's wanton cruelties, and rage
 Insatiate of blood, impell'd to acts
 Of deep despair, which despots have miscall'd 30
 Rebellion, for they do most rebel
 Who break the laws of God, and trample down
 The altars of his justice. Man will bear,
 And God permit innumerable wrongs
 To flourish for a time, but there 's a point, 35
 A sacred point, which neither God, nor man
 Will suffer to be pass'd, and him, who dares
 To make the attempt, tho' arm'd with triple brass,
 And deep-encircled round with hosts of slaves,
 The watchful wrath of Heaven soon o'ertakes, 40
 And plunges head-long down the gulf of woe.
 And such awaited Philip; nor veterans,
 Nor hireling mercenaries, nor the crimes
 Of that incarnate fiend, whose bloody deeds

35. *but there's a point, &c.*—See the Act of the United Colonies for separating themselves from the government of Great Britain, and declaring their independence. *Ramsay*, i. 339, &c.

44. *whose bloody deeds*—The duke d'Alva boasted that be-

Dimm'd the blest brightness of the orb of day ; 45
 No ! Not the monster D'Alva could suppress
 The uplifted arm of freedom, mail'd by wrongs.
 Bat here the patriot eye will shed a tear
 O'er Hoorn and Egmont's ashes. Ye, brave peers !
 Fought for your country, for your country died ; 50
 But died not unreveng'd, for William heard
 Your dying moans, and on Eliza call'd
 For aid, Eliza heard ; her patriot soul
 That ne'er her people with taxation ground,

sides what his sword had destroyed, he had caused 18,000 to be executed by the hangman. *Salmon's Med. Hist.* ii. 136.

"There is a case," said Gov. Johnstone, Feb. 6, 1775, "directly similar, but we are too conceited to profit from such experience. Philip II. and his seventeen provinces are the counterpart of what we are acting. The debates in his council on sending the duke of Alva into the Netherlands, are applicable in every part. He was advised by two sensible men, to repair thither himself, and hear the complaints of his people, before he came to such rash resolves: but the majority said as in this case that his glory was compromised. It was not religion only but taxing without consent of their states, that brought matters to the last extremity: the duke of Alva, it is true, was victorious every where at first, but his cruelties were but sowing the serpents' teeth. The beggars of the Briel, esteemed at that time infinitely more despicable than the New-Englandmen are represented, gave the first shock to the power of Spain. In comparing the probability of events, can any man say that Great Britain has such a prospect of victory in the contest, as Spain might then have expected? Yet we know the event, and how that mighty empire was rent in pieces." &c. *Almon*, i. 165.

49. *Hoorn and Egmont's ashes*.—The counts of H. and E. were put to death by D'Alva.

51. *William heard*.—The Prince of Orange.

52. *Eliza*.—Queen Elizabeth, who assisted the Flemings.

54. *That ne'er her people with taxation ground*.—"That gracious queen," said lord Chesterfield, Dec. 8, 1740, "was extremely shy of loading her subjects with any taxes, or putting the public to any expense." And how well she deserved this character may be learnt from the constant

But rul'd triumphant in her subjects' hearts ; 55
 Who vanquish'd all her foes, despis'd their threats,
 And made Spain's despot tremble on his throne ;
 Thee! Great Eliza! Thee, the sufferers
 Invoked not in vain ; thy noble soul
 With the sacred love of liberty inspir'd, 60
 Attentive heard their plaints, and thus amidst
 Assembled Britons spake their patriot queen ;
 " Friends, subjects, countrymen ! 'Tis now the time
 When that great law of nations, which forbids
 All interference in another's rights, 65
 Must give precedence ; for the laws of men
 Must yield obedience to the laws of God.
 That sovereign princes are alone to Heaven
 Accountant for their actions is allow'd ;
 But when perpetual servitude awaits 70
 A nation of freemen, reason ordains
 Their country's constitution, and its laws

tenor of history. The parliament having offered in the eighth year of her reign greater subsidies than usual—" she utterly refused that extraordinary supply, and accepted of a much smaller sum. Abating the receipt of the *fourth part* of the money so granted ; and telling them, after commending their regard for her, '*that money in her subjects' purse was as good as in her own exchequer,*' and that '*she made a greater account of the good-wills and benevolent minds of her good and loving subjects, than she did of ten subsidies.*'" We are told at other times that this excellent princess supplied a great part of the publick expenditure "out of her own revenues, sparing from herself to serve the necessity of the realm, and shunning thereby loans upon interest, as a most pestilent canker that is able to devour even the states of princes." *Timberland's Lords' Deb.* vii. 589 ; *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* i. 716. 767. 818. Compare also *Id.* i. 727. 768. 778. 874. 940-1.

Absolve them from allegiance; for what men
Can be so lost to virtue, or to mind,
As freedom to commute for servitude? 75
And if perchance such wretches should be found,
What right have they to bind posterity?
My free-born Britons! 'Tis enough for us
To tell you that Batavia is enslav'd;
Spain's haughty despot, and his impious tool; 80
Forgetting God and right, have dar'd subvert
The people's dearest privileges, nor stop
Their dreadful persecutions, till they reach
Despotick power. Patriot William calls
Aloud for British succour; the oppress'd 85
On Britons never call'd for aid in vain."

Thus spake Eliza, and the people yet
Inclining forwards bent, with ears erect
Listening to silence. Till at length awak'd;
As when Killarney's circling rocks receive 90
Some cannon's solitary roar, at first
The distant echo imitates the sound,
And back repeats it, till with ten-fold force
The east, and west, uniting all their strength,
Join their reverberations, and at last 95
The thundering summits madden all the air,
And echo frighten'd echoes back the whole;
'Thus when Eliza ended, peal on peal

73. *Absolve them from allegiance*;—The language here used by Elizabeth is corroborated by the testimony of history. See *Salmon*, p. 141. Compare also sir Christopher Hatton's speech upon the Spanish Invasion, *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* i. 849.

Of loudest acclamation rent the skies.

Such then were Britons; such a British queen; 100

Alas! How fallen from their noble sires

Is their degenerate offspring? They were men,

Who knew fair freedom's worth, and shed their
blood

Defending others' freedom, these forgetting

Sidney', and Hampden's virtues, deign enlist 105

Amidst arm'd despots to enslave freemen.

Here stop, my Muse! and drop a silent tear

O'er their departed worth. But, soft, methinks!

Thou seest Eliza's spirit from above

Smile at their puny efforts, and bid thee say, 110

The time is coming when Eliza's soul

Shall reign again in her, who British-born

Hath deep imbibed Britain's ancient spirit.

Yes! I foresee the period blest approach,

106. *Amidst arm'd despots*—"It has been alleged," said Mr. Fox, an. 1792, "as a proof of disaffection, that the countenances of many wore the face of joy when the intelligence arrived of the duke of Brunswic's retreat. What! is it a sufficient demonstration of republicanism, that men should rejoice in the discomfiture of the *armies of despotism* combating against liberty? Could any man who loves the constitution of this country wish success to the duke of Brunswic, after reading a manifesto which violated every principle of justice, humanity, freedom, and true government?" &c. In the same spirit Mr. Sheridan exclaims; "But we are told that to treat with France would give offence to the allied powers, with whom we are eventually to co-operate. Are we then prepared to make a *common cause* on the principles and for the purposes for which *those despots* have associated?" &c. See *Belsham*, iv. 503. 515; v. 12.

114. *Yes! I foresee &c.*—Thrice has the pen been prepared to expunge this prophecy, and thrice has it been withholden.

When her refulgent glory, bursting forth, 115
 The dank, dark, lowering vapours of the earth
 Scatters to east and west, a risen sun.
 Then Britons shall be free, then see again
 Their laws, their rights, their freedom uninfring'd.
 Thus British virtue, and a British queen, 120
 To reason's voice obedient, and to God,
 Join'd in the cause of liberty and man.
 Spain's despot saw, but harden'd at the sight,
 Seeing saw not, for tyranny is blind,
 Blind e'en to its own interest, for would 125
 The tyrant measure his ambitious views,
 By what a patient people could endure,
 And there suspend his plans, until at length
 Inur'd to evil they could bear yet more ;
 He might continue heaping crime on crime, 130
 Till, like the purpled despot of the east,
 He place his foot upon their lowly necks,
 And they shall call it honour. Such is man
 Creature of time, and place, and circumstance ;
 Such too, so various, and so manifold 135
 The ways of him, who out of slavery
 Educeth freedom ; out of evil, good.
 But few there are who know them, and those few
 So wrapt in their intrinsick excellence,
 Their mental eye so dazzled at the sight 140

It shall stand. Prophecies have more than once caused the event.

Νῦν ἔλπομαι μὲν ἐν Θεῷ γὰρ μὲν
 Τίλος. Pind. Olym. xiii.

Of the sublime, the beautiful, the good,
 That human to celestial yields the palm,
 And, angel-like, they see but to adore.
 Hence then let virtue not despair, but learn
 From Philip's fall, how weak the tyrant's arts. 145
 For now, enrag'd to madness, when he saw
 A British queen, and Sidney's arm uprais'd
 To aid Batavia, two different ways
 His proud soul ponder'd, whether by open war,
 To assail his foes, or else by covert guile, 150
 And treachery to compass his designs.
 Thus rapt in anxious thought the despot stood,
 Weighing how most to scourge the human race :
 Him, not unheeded, thus fraternal zeal
 Accosted ; cursed pair, ready alike 155
 To blast man's full-grown virtues, or to nip
 The bud of freedom ere it rise to light ;
 " If e'er thy royal cares fraternal love
 Hath sooth'd, if e'er thy heated mind been calm'd
 By him, whom equal hopes, and equal fears 160
 Have join'd in strictest union with thyself ;
 Now pour thy burthen'd soul into that breast
 Which knows no will but thine. Too much I fear

147. *Sidney*—The accomplished sir Philip Sidney, of whom that celebrated anecdote is told. " After the battle of Zutphen, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst ; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said ; '*This man's necessity is still greater than mine ;*' and resigned to him the bottle of water." *Encyc. Britan.* The story is somewhat differently told in *Watkins's Biograph. Dict.*

That England's haughty monarch, trampling down
The laws of nations, dares to join her arms 166
To those of our proud foe ; rebellion
In England's monarch finds an advocate ;
But think not Heaven looks on such misdeeds
With kind benignant aspect ; rather say
It lowers in threatening storms. Britain shall rue
The day it joins in continental war ; 171
Already have my emissaries sown
Rebellion's seed in Ireland, there 't will quicken,
And ripen into harvest ; we meanwhile,
The royal license given, will succeed 175
To D'Alva's agency, and thus perchance
By well-dissembled acts of courtesy
Entrap our wary foe within that net
From whence he ne'er escapes, for who, that asks
Whether by guile, or force, an enemy 180
Succeed ; enough it is for us to know
That William is our foe. My liege ! you have
What I advise ; whatever else may suit
The present circumstance, whether by war
Maritime, or continental, to distress 185
England's proud monarch, and to aid the cause
Of kings, and lawful government, befits
Thy royal wisdom, and that depth of mind,
Which Heaven indulgent grants the best of kings."
Scarcé had he ended, when with eager haste, 190
Like the fond mother, who with open arms
Receives her son return'd from distant school,
And knows not to desist, while from her eyes

Maternal love thick flashes; so the king
With eager haste flew to his brother's arms, 195
And there in silent transport fixed hung,
Until at length words thus found out their way;
“ Belov'd of brothers! Best of subjects! Friend,
Dear as the light of day! Had Heaven bestow'd
One more like thee, not all Eliza's threats, 200
Nor William's vaunts could ruffle this proud soul.
But hence despair! The brave man knows thee not,
Thou art the coward's refuge; Spain and Philip
Yield to no earthly power; for though his foes
Were countless as the sands that circle round 205
The torrid Libya's long-extended coast,
Philip would meet them; hear then our resolve;
Soon as the watchful Hours shall have remov'd
The clouds of darkness from the eastern sky,
Haste thou to Holland, there assume our power 210
Supreme, without control; in thee we place
That confidence thy wisdom, and thy worth
Justly deserve; there wage or open war
Against these hereticks, or else insnare
With covert guile, as to thy wisdom seems; 215
For holy church knows no communion
Of virtue, or of faith with infidels.
This shall proud England's heresiarchal queen
By suffering know, and dread again to raise
Against the chosen servants of the Highest, 220
Her heretick arm; for this our private cause
Will be the cause of God, and holy church.
Already do I see my armaments,

Bless'd by the pious Father, and pronounc'd
 Invincible, triumphant plough the waves ; 225
 Already Spain's proud banners float on high
 O'er London's towers, there the holy cross
 Streams to the passing breeze ; while father Thames
 Flows by with conscious gratitude, and hails
 The long-lost emblem. But enough of words, 230
 We must proceed to deeds ; you to your charge,
 I to the holy Father ; when again
 We meet, we meet triumphant o'er our foes." 235
 He ended ; and the winds his vaunts, and threats
 Bore to the vast Atlantick. Gracious God ! 235
 How blind is man ! How incompatible
 With reason, or with virtue, are his acts !
 He asks for wealth ; give him Potosi's mines,
 He asks yet more. Seeks he dominion ?
 Grant him an empire, he is not content, 240
 But must be despot. Asks he happiness ?
 Make him the happiest, he is still the same
 And would be happier. Thus discontent
 Hovers with dusky wing o'er all his deeds.
 O gold ! O cursed gold ! There is scarce one, 245
 Or vice, or sin, or crime, but springs from thee.
 Thou art the cause direct, or indirect,
 Of every earthly woe. 'Tis most to thee,
 That e'en our passions owe their headstrong rage :
 Man from his Maker's hands proceeded pure, 250
 Thy glittering follies taught him to love wrong.
 But haste, my Muse ! Speed on thy rapid course

To better times, when wealth at last gives way,
 And yields to virtue her precedence just.
 D'Alva recall'd ; the happy Flemings saw,
 Or thought they saw, some respite from their woe ;
 And thus one to another joyful spake ;
 " Our woes at length will cease ; the barbarous
 wretch
 Who feasted on our blood, is now recall'd
 To meet the recompense of all his crimes ;
 Our prince in mercy hears his people's prayers,
 And from his brother's hand we shall receive,
 Our laws, and privileges unimpair'd.
 Thus spake the people. Poor short-sighted men !
 To think that baffled tyrants e'er relax
 Their impious endeavours to regain
 That which is next to their hearts, pow'r, uncon-
 trol'd.
 Place in the tyrant's balance, darling power,
 And in the other scale, the people's love,
 This last shall kick the beam, as light as air.
 When once the passions reason's seat assume
 Men become brutes, tyrants are therefore brutes,
 Nay, worse than brutes, for that a portion's left
 Of reason, which they work to bad designs,
 For though their sudden ire they soon digest,
 Yet deep within the rankling vengeance lies,
 And must be satiate. But William saw
 The fine-spun web, nor did he not regret
 The people's blind infatuate confidence,

And thus in wisdom's words he them address'd ; 280

“ Think not, brave Flemings ! that tho' men are
chang'd,

Measures are chang'd ; by sad experience

I know the tyrants' arts ; in outward form

And falsehood perfect sirens, and their tongues

In subtlety that serpent's would eclipse 285

Which once deceiv'd the fairest of mankind.

Flemings ! beware ; before it be too late

Beware of Philip ; D'Alva is recall'd,

But not yet punish'd, and if William's mind

Deceive him not, I see, too plain I see 290

Another D'Alva in the tyrant John.

While ye, brave Flemings ! dare demand your rights,

Your liberty of conscience, and your laws,

So long tribunals streaming with your blood,

So long will murderous inquisitions, 295

Call'd courts of justice, banish from you far

All power of serving your own God the way

That God himself hath taught you. Philip sees

In liberty of conscience, heresy ;

Foul heresy ; and what with hereticks 300

Or compact, or communion can be kept,

But such as hungry tigers keep with lambs,

Or ravenous wolves with way-worn travellers ?

Brave Flemings ! now your arms are in your hands,

Lay them not down. That people scarce deserve

296. *Call'd courts of justice*,—See *Salmon*, art. *Netherlands*, ii. 136.

Even the pity of mankind, who trust 306
 The man that trusts not them. Your victories
 Have gain'd you some short respite from your woes;
 Do not betray yourselves, and what is short
 Shorten yet more. Hope from the tyrant's fears,
 But never from his love. Now while I speak, 311
 Your treaties are infrin'd, your rights o'erthrown;
 And at my breast the secret murderer's knife
 Perchance is pointed. Has my property
 Escap'd their harpy fangs? Am not myself 316
 Declar'd a traitor? Yes! my countrymen!
 And in such treason William does rejoice,
 Such treason is your love." (Shouts of applause
 In long succession drown'd the hero's voice,
 While tears of feeling warm'd his manly cheeks; 320
 At length he thus;) "Flemings! I am content
 To die in freedom's cause; nor unreveng'd
 Will be my death; for lo! Eliza's aid,
 And British valour soon will put to flight
 The hosts of armed slaves which over-awe 326
 Your peaceful dwellings, and those laws restore
 And rights which Spain's proud monarch hath in-
 fring'd.
 You have my best advice, but once again
 Beware of tyrants; trust them as you trust
 The rocks of Scylla, or Charybdis' gulfs." 330
 The hero spake; and as the clustering bees

307. *Your victories &c.*—The victory of Ghent produced a short-lived peace.

Hang round their chieftain, to defend from harm,
And grace with honour ; so the people throng'd
Round their beloved prince. They knew his worth ;
They knew that where the perilous battle rag'd 335
In fellest fury, there their prince was found ;
'They knew the rancour of his foes, how oft
They plotted 'gainst his life. That life, their guard
And safety, now, alas ! too prescient,
They saw, or seem'd to see, beneath the hand 340
Of dark assassins gasping in their cause,
And moan'd their living hero as the dead.
As when the warrior for the battle arm'd,
Meets the chaste partner of his heart who holds
Within her snowy arms his infant hope, 345
And fain would stop his course, while love and fear
Plead from her tear-stain'd eyes ; his manly soul
Yielding to nature's impulse soothes her cares
With reason veil'd in love ; so William's heart
Responsive to their feelings, felt for them. 350
Should the dark machinations of his foes
Succeed against his life ; and where is free,
And open virtue safe against the black,
And deep-designing cowardice of vice ?
He saw no guide to extricate them safe 355
From out the dangerous covert where they lay,
Expos'd on every side to hostile snares.
Thus pondering on their state within his breast,
Pensive the hero stood, at length thus spake ;

339. *too prescient*,—He was assassinated at Delft, A.D.1604.

" Nor thoughts, nor acts of gratitude in me 360
 Shall e'er be wanting to requite your love.
 Your cause is mine, nor will the tyrant's arts
 Prevail against you, while you thus adhere
 Each to the other ; 'tis dissension
 That gives to despots, and preserves their power.
 ' Divide and govern,' is their general rule ; 366
 ' Unite and conquer,' Flemings ! must be yours."
 The Flemings heard, nor hearing disobey'd
 O that mankind had always thus been wise,
 Nor listen'd to the voice of evil men, 370
 Neglecting truth, and solid wisdom's lore,
 For blinking, mole-eyed phraseology !
 To pledge united faith was now their care,
 And Utrecht's walls were witness to their pledge.
 Thrice happy pledge, which gave Batavia's sons 375
 The greatest blessing that indulgent Heaven
 Bestows on man, their liberties and laws !
 But now the tyrant, baffled in his arts,
 Like some fell tigress that hath lost her young,
 Mad for revenge, spar'd not one deed of blood, 380
 Open, or covert, to regain his power,
 Or glut his vengeance ; and religion,
 Too oft the tool of sanguinary men,
 Blesseth his armaments, and them proclaims
 Invincible. But Heaven's averted eye 385
 Turns from blasphemers, and to their own plots

374. *And Utrecht's walls*—Alluding to the union of the
 states at Utrecht, A. D. 1579. For the facts related in this
 book see *Salmon*, ii. 136, &c.

Leaves them the victims, while it wraps its friends
In the fragrant cloud of innocence, and truth,
Impervious to the wicked. This too late
Philip perceiv'd : not all his base attempts 390
Against Eliza's life, nor poisonous herb,
Nor steel of murderers, nor Popish bulls,
Availed aught ; and though his armaments
Burthen'd the ocean, and had struck with fear
The stoutest hearts, not arm'd in freedom's cause,
Yet Britain's sons no sooner saw her foe, 396
Than seen, and conquer'd baffled he return'd
Back to his ports, with all his hideous wrecks.
So much could freedom in the cause of man.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the Department of the Interior, under the act of March 3, 1879, entitled "An Act to provide for the better management of the public lands, and for other purposes."

The names of the persons appointed to the various positions are as follows:

Secretary of the Interior, John W. Foster.
 Assistant Secretary, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the General Land Office, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Fish and Game, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Land Management, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Natural History, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Plant Industry, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Soil Conservation, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Water Conservation, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Wildlife Management, William B. Ewing.
 Commissioner of the Bureau of Zoology, William B. Ewing.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK IV.

ARGUMENT OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

Invocation. Origin of the American war. Speech of lord North to the British Senate. The indignant and patriotick reply of the great Chatham, who vindicates the cause of America, and expresses his horror at the employment of the Indians. Answer of lord North. Obedience of the House of Commons.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

O FOR that heavenly Muse, which, when implor'd
By the blest voice of him, who compass'd stood
With dangers, and in solitude involv'd,
And darkness, fail'd him not, but deign'd to quit
Her heavenly mansion here to dwell with him, 5
To light his darkness with celestial light,
And make his solitude the abode of joy ;
But he on evil days was fallen, on days
When Hampden, Sidney, and a cloud of men
Suffer'd for freedom and for virtue's sake. 10
But thou, Urania ! gay'st him sweetest song
To cheer his morns and nights, and make the days
Less evil. O that thou again would'st deign
To visit this sad realm, where wisdom's voice
And truth, and virtue, by fierce terror scar'd, 15

15. *by fierce terror scar'd*,—This was written at a time when the country was almost deluged with spies and informers; when sentiments of liberty, indigenous as they are, could not be uttered without danger; when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and many virtuous and wise men were

And boisterous rage, have long been lull'd to rest ;
 Where to the natural evils of the clime
 Wicked designing men have fearless plac'd,
 The dangerous quicksand, and the sunken rock ;
 Which when the innocent are wreck'd upon, 20
 They but rejoice. O steer my fragil bark
 Amidst these perils, till I reach once more
 The azure ocean, and the cloudless sky !

Alas ! too soon did England's glory set ;
 The sun that rose to light Eliza's spirit 25
 To her blest mansion, charg'd with England's fate
 Spunk gloomy in the west. Nor stop, my Muse !
 To sing these wretched times, when if perchance
 Some star of freedom rose amid the dark,
 'T was like the gleamy meteor of the night 30

for slight offences either immured in a prison, or transported to distant climes; while others upon constructive treasons were brought to trial for their lives, and when acquitted by a jury of their country ignominiously denominated "acquitted felons." But "the reign of terror" is past, it is not natural to our clime, and however it may aid the views of a despotick administration in augmenting an already overloaded penal code *, yet ultimately it must tend, as all acts of a government, which does not keep pace with the illumination of the people, necessarily do tend, to excite the inquiries of that people into the abuses of their government, and to demand, with a voice that admits of no denial, a radical reformation of them.

* Upon the fertile subject of crimes and punishments, I would endeavour to impress on the minds of my countrymen this single fact, that by the good old common law *there were only four crimes liable to be punished with death*, and compensation might even have been made for these. There are now two hundred if not more. See the speech of sir William Meredith, May 13, 1777, *Almon*, vii. 180; and compare Blackstone, b. iv. ch. 1.

That shone awhile to dim the eyes of men,
 And leave the dark still darker. Rather speed
 Thy rapid flight to where Columbia's sons,
 And Washington, and Franklin, smooth'd the road
 To universal freedom. O that truth 35
 Could blot that page of history, which records
 Britain's most foul disgrace; when British swords
 Were sheath'd in British blood, to aid the cause
 Of rank oppression, and despotick law!
 What thus could urge Britannia to revolt 40
 From her own principles? 'T was Gold and Pow'r,
 Twin evils form'd to curse the hopes of man.
 These first induced North, presumptuous fool,
 Who blindly steer'd the helm of state, which men
 Of wisdom, and of foresight can alone 45
 Guide safely thro' the intricate of things;
 These him induc'd to try what force avail'd
 Against the sons of freedom, freedom's sons,
 Columbia's offspring, who by Franklin taught
 Knew where to affix the boundary to pow'r, 50
 And say to kings; "Thus far ye only go,
 Beyond this point the people's rights begin,
 Kings! trespass not;" but North, proud minister,
 Ambitious man, knew scarce the name of rights

43. *presumptuous fool*.—"Let me tell you," (said lord Chat-
 ham, upon another occasion, speaking of the ministers) "who-
 ever they were (I don't care of what consequence) they were
 either fools or knaves; if the latter, they deserved to be
 treated with the just contempt of an injured people; if the
 former, they ought to have been sent to school before they
 were suffered to take the lead in public office." *Debrett*, v. 186,
 May 4, 1770.

Much less to practise; but the name prevails, 55
 And will prevail so long as man endures,
 And shall not then the practice, which to man
 Makes every earthly blessing doubly blest,
 Gives him to know his Maker, and adore
 That Maker in his works? But these are things 60
 Too deeply hid from the dim eyes of men
 Obscur'd by power and wealth; for now enrag'd
 Like a spoilt child who cannot bear control,
 With angry words he Britons thus address'd;
 "That prompt obedience, and support are due 65
 From subjects to their rulers, is a truth,
 Which they alone will controvert, who wish
 To stir rebellion up, and trample down
 The laws and constitution of the realm.
 For what or rule, or government can last 70
 Unless it meet support? and what support
 Without taxation? Have we not endur'd
 All the calamities of war? Incurr'd

55. *Much less to practise*;—Lord chancellor Camden, Jan. 9, 1770, "accused the ministry, if not in express terms, yet by direct implication, of having formed a conspiracy against the liberties of their country." And the marquis of Rockingham declared the maxim of government to be, "*That the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government, to whatever hands the administration should be committed.*" *Debrett*, v. 142. 145.

71. *Unless it meet support?* &c.—"Nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt." See the note in *Debrett*, iv. 251, where this passage is quoted from Tacitus. For the principal authority of this speech the reader may consult the speech of Mr. Grenville, Jan. 14, 1766, *Debrett*, iv. 292; and the Protest, 366; and the speech of Mr. Jenkinson, Mar. 17, 1778, *Almon*, ix. 65.

Expense enormous to defend, and guard

These our rebellious colonies ; which are

75

75. *rebellious colonies* ;—Shakespeare has put these words into the mouth of Henry Vth ; “ We give express charge—that none of the French be upbraided, or abused in disdainful language ; for when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentlest gamester is the soonest winner.” Act 3, sc. 6. Even in a just cause, and a successful war, the using of opprobrious language can only serve to aggravate and inflame the cruelty of the soldiery, and render final reconciliation more difficult ; and in an unsuccessful conflict it can excite no other feeling than contempt, and make the day of retribution more dreadful. It is in fact no proof of bravery, generally speaking indeed it is the reverse ; for the weaker the opponent is in real strength, the more voluble is his tongue. It might suit the heated minds of a despotick administration to exclaim, “ that treason and rebellion were properly and peculiarly the native growth of America ;” (see *Almon*, vi. 168, and King’s speech, p. 5.) but the uncorrupt virtue of a Camden, a Chatham, a Richmond, and a patriotick opposition, could yet preserve untainted the dignity of the British nation. *Almon*, ii. 39. 61. “ They are rebels,” said lord Chatham, 30th May 1777, “ but what are they rebels for ? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights ! What have these rebels done heretofore ? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisburg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great. I do not mean their panegyrick ; but must observe in attenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed—the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them.” *Almon*, vii. 93, *Lords’ Deb.* The duke of Richmond having remarked, “ that he did not think the people of America in rebellion, but merely resisting acts of the most unexampled cruelty and oppression ;” the E. of Denbigh rose, and “ openly contended, that those who defended rebellion, were themselves little better than rebels ; and that there was very little difference between the traitor, and he who openly or privately abetted treason.” In reply to this he was told by the noble duke, “ that he was not to be intimidated or deterred from his duty by loud words, and that he would not retract a single iota he had uttered on this occasion.” I shall conclude this note with observing that the term *rebels* seems to be very fashionable, at a certain court ; for whether it be the struggles of the unfortunate Corsicans—of the wretched Caribbs—of the patriotick Americans—or the suffering Irish—they are all rebels,

As able to sustain their share of burthen
 As Britons are, but that they find from hence
 Favour, and countenance from factious men ?
 Better by far lay down the reins, and cease
 To guide the state, than thus betray your trust, 80
 Than thus without a contest yield your rights.
 When were the colonies emancipate
 From British jurisdiction ? when were left
 To their own judgment of their rulers' acts ?
 Such dangerous doctrine, if it meet support, 86
 Will like a pestilence spread far and wide
 Destruction to all governments on earth.
 Are they not children planted by our care,
 Nurs'd in indulgence, and when now full grown,
 Mid opulence and plenty, shall they grudge 90

"daring and incorrigible rebels." *Belsham*, i. 258-9. 417. 423; ii. 291-2. See above, b. i. note 312; and memoirs of the D. of Richmond, *Mon. Mag.* No. 153.

78. *from factious men?*—Lord Dudley, Oct. 26, 1775, "contended that the present rebellion in America was fomented and supported by a desperate faction in this country; that none but men of the worst dispositions, and most pernicious designs, would encourage the claims of America, &c." *Almon*, v. 3; and see the E. of Sandwich's speech, *ib.* p. 6.

81. *without a contest*—"As they totally denied (said Lord North, 5 Mar. 1770,) the power of Great Britain to tax them, it became more absolutely necessary to compel the observance of the laws to vindicate our undoubted rights." *Debrett*, v. 254. "We must risk something; if we do not, all is over." vii. 221.

88. *planted by our care*,—"And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burthen which we lie under?" See *Ramsay*, i. 57. 346. King's speech, 26th Oct. 1775; *Almon*, iii. 2; and v. 23. 64.

Their trifling tribute to relieve our wants?

Ye British senators! I do intreat

Your patient hearing; for your dignity,

Your honour, your essential interests,

Your constitution, all are now at stake. 95

Your acts, your laws, your whole authority

Is spurn'd; your merchants plunder'd of their goods;

Your ships are burnt; and all your loyal subjects

Like felons treated ignominious.

Necessity impels you to defend 100

Your cause and justice; be ye resolute,

Be firm, be vigorous, and to factious men

Oppose defiance both abroad, and here.

Now is the time to uplift the arm of power,

To show we are in earnest, and expect 105

All due obedience to our country's laws.

99. *Like felons*—"And will this country sit still, when they see the colony proceeding against your own subjects, tarring and feathering your servants; denying your laws and authority, &c." "The Americans have tarred and feathered your subjects, plundered your merchants, burnt your ships, denied all obedience to your laws and authority, &c." Lord North, Apr. 22, 1774; *Debrett*, vii. 220-1. Compare lord Lyttelton's speech, May 30, 1777; *Almon*, vii. 109.

104. *Now is the time*—"Now is our time (said lord North, Mar. 25, 1774,) to stand out—to defy them—to proceed with firmness, and without fear;—that they would never reform until we take a measure of this kind. Let this bill produce a conviction to all America, that we are now in earnest, and that we will proceed with firmness and vigour;"—"I hope that we every one feel, that it is the common cause of us all.—The good of this act is, that four or five frigates will do the business without any military force;—but if we exert ourselves now with firmness and intrepidity, it is the more likely they will submit to our authority." *Debrett*, vii. 87. See *ib.* 114, 123.

Make this a common cause, strike terrou round,
 Punish the guilty and assert your rights."
 Scarce had the haughty minister surceas'd
 His vile attempt to make the worse appear 110
 The better cause, and clothe in anger's garb
 The pallid tremours of his heart; scarce ceas'd
 His tools their venal plaudits; when uprose
 The patriotick Pitt, the god-like sire
 Of a degenerate son. Him Britain lov'd 115
 With filial love, and gratitude; him oft
 His prince had call'd to guide the helm of state,
 And with Britannia's glory gird the world;
 But thence as oft had secret influence,

112. *The pallid tremours*—"It was observed that Lord North trembled and faultered at every word of his motion." *Debrett*, vii. 119.

114. *The patriotick Pitt*,—"A great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called

..... clarum et venerabile nomen
 Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi."

"Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind; and more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct, &c." See the very celebrated speech of Mr. Burke, Ap. 19, 1774; *Debrett*, vii. 162-3. See the E. of Shelburne's opinion of "*the nerve of Great Britain*," *Edmon*, vi. 68; the D. of Grafton's, vii. 100; Lord Camden's, x. 492; Lord Lyttelton's, 498; and Mr. Grenville's, viii. 366. See *Life of Washington*, i. 492-3.

119. *secret influence, &c.*—Lord Chatham "complained strongly of the great influence of the E. of Bute, which he affirmed still (March 1770) continued, and which had prevented there having been any original minister since the accession of His present Majesty."—"He spoke of the secret

That poisonous weed which in the shape of Bute
 Had Britain's evil Genius bestrew'd 121
 Behind the throne, whose deleterious taint
 Hath long pervaded Britain's atmosphere,
 And numb'd the patriot's efforts; thence as oft
 Had this prevail'd to counteract the deed. 125
 But now the patriot rose, while from his eyes
 Flash'd freedom's fire, and thus his labouring breast
 Pour'd the full torrent of impetuous truth;
 "Britons, and Senators! long may ye yet
 Deserve those names by all the world rever'd! 130
 Long may ye be an honour to yourselves,

influence of an invisible power—of a favourite whose pernicious counsels had occasioned all the present unhappiness and disturbances in the nation, and who, notwithstanding he was abroad, was at this moment as potent as ever; that he had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a responsible office; that there was no safety, no security against his power and malignity; that he himself had been duped, &c."—"A long train of such practice has at length unwillingly convinced me, *that there is something behind the throne greater than the king himself.*" *Debrett*, v. 173, 174. See 191. 272. iv. 289. Colonel Barre is still stronger; he observed "that it was the same case in the Admiralty as in every other part of government; that there was a certain busy devil that thrusts its head into every department, and did the business for every officer of state; that we have a *nominal minister, nominal secretaries of state, nominal privy counsellors, whose names are only used for responsibility*; that so despicable a junto who form the *interior cabinet*, may, at the risque of others, work mischief in darkness and obscurity." *Ib.* 450-1. The M. of Rockingham's sentiments upon this subject are given above, *note* 55, and in *Almon*, vii. 70; and the reader may see the duke of Manchester's in *Almon*, x. 333-4; E. of Effingham's, 317; D. of Richmond's, *ib.* 367; and his memoirs quoted above at ver. 75; E. of Shelburne's, *ib.* 461; and ii. 49; and the Great Frederic's, in *Belsham*, ii. 135. Compare *Belsham*, i. 91-2; ii. 113.

But thence becomes a duty. Better far
 To perish in a struggle for one's rights, 150
 Than live a life of ignominious ease;
 If ease it may be call'd, which doth depend
 Upon the nod of arbitrary power.
 What patriot breast the struggles then can blame
 Of our colonial brethren? They are men, 155

this country; I say, if acts like these can vindicate resistance, the Americans can quote them, and God and the world must judge between us. For my own part, I consider, with lord Somers, that 'treason against the constitution is the first species of that crime.'" *Almon*, i. 162. Sir G. Saville observed, that "if rebellion was resistance to government, he could not consider all rebellions to be alike; there must be such a thing as justifiable rebellion—and submitted to the house, whether a people taxed without their consent, and their petitions against such taxation rejected; their charters taken away without hearing; and an army let loose upon them without a possibility of obtaining justice; whether a people under such circumstances could not be said to be in justifiable rebellion?" *Ib.* 176. Upon the doctrine of resistance see lord Camden, *Almon*, ii. 14. 83; v. 84; the address of the city of London, Ap. 10, 1775, *ib.* p. 180; Temple Luttrell's speech, *Almon*, iii. 31. 124. "The Americans (said Mr. Fox) were more justifiable for resisting, than they would have been had they submitted to the tyrannical acts of a British parliament—that when the question was, whether a people ought to submit to slavery, or aim at freedom by a spirited resistance, the alternative which must strike every Englishman was, the choice of the latter." *Ib.* 42. Gen. Conway upholds the same doctrine, iii. 148. So Mr. Sawbridge, 216-7; Alderman Bull, *Almon*, viii. 15; Mr. D. Hartley, *ib.* 124; Mr. Wilkes, 136. See Lords' Protest, *Almon*, v. 20; D. of Richmond, *Almon*, v. 139; E. of Shelburne, v. 147; vii. 33-4; Lords' Deb. See *Ib.* 33; D. of Grafton, *ib.* 100-2.

150. *To perish in a struggle &c*—"In my judgment, my lords, (said lord Chatham,) and I speak it boldly, it were better for Englishmen to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the constitution." *Debrett*, v. 130.

Are Britons, and they glory in the name:
Respect their sturdy virtue; 'tis your own.
What tho' it be ebullient; 'tis the boiling
Of a rich vigorous blood. Were they so dead
To human feelings, as to bow their necks 160
Without a murmur to the yoke of power;
They would become fit instruments to serve

156. *Are Britons, &c.*—"They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of England were always treated with particular regard; to be an Old-England man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us." Dr. Franklin's Examination, *Debrett*, iv. 327. "They may be flattered (said col. Barré) into any thing, but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; respect their sturdy English virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember that—the first step towards making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government." *Debrett*, vii. 119.

"They were proud of the land of their ancestors, and gloried in their descent from Englishmen." *Life of Washington*, ii. 98. See the speech of lord John Cavendish, Oct. 31, 1776, *Almon*, vi. 10; and lord Chatham, May 30, 1777, *Almon*, vii. 96. "They have no other idea of this country than as their home; they have no other word by which to express it." Gov. Pownall, *Debrett*, v. 314.

158. *What tho' it be ebullient*;—Lord Chatham "owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowance even for their excesses. That they ought to be treated with tenderness; for in his sense they were ebullitions of liberty, which broke out upon the skin, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart." *Debrett*, v. 128.

162. *fit instruments &c.*—"I rejoice (said lord Chatham) that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." *Debrett*, iv. 294. See v. 130. Compare Dunning's speech, *Almon*, i. 135; lord J. Cavendish, iii. 149-150; lord

The purpose of oppression o'er ourselves.
 But it is ask'd, When were the Colonies
 Emancipated?—When were they enslav'd? 165
 Both God and Nature gave them freedom's rights,
 And God and Nature will those rights defend.
 Their wise forefathers left their native soil
 To flee from persecution; will their sons
 Forget their fathers' virtues? Rather hope 170
 The sun will cease to shine; or Albion's rocks
 Sink in the foaming deep. It has been said

Shelburne, *Almon*, vii. 26; *Lords' Deb.* col. Barré, ix. 90; lord Camden, x. 33-4. See *Belsham*, ii. 204.

164. *When were the colonies emancipated?*—"The gentleman (Mr. Grenville) asks, When were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know when they were made slaves." Lord Chatham, *Debrett*, iv. 295. Compare 292; and *Belsham*, ii. 98.

168. *Their wise forefathers &c.*—"The forefathers of the Americans did not leave their native country, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of slavery, &c." Lord Camden, *Debrett*, iv. 367. "If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America, to leave their native country to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevailed at that period in their native country. And we shall wonder, my lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn, with contempt, the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for." &c. Lord Chatham, May 27, 1774, *Debrett*, vii. 10-1.

172. *It has been said &c.*—See above, ver. 88, to which col. Barré replied; "They planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country.—They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your

That they are children planted by your care,
 In your indulgence nurs'd, and by your arms
 Protected. They! they planted by your care! 175
 They by your arms protected! They indulged!
 If rank oppression be indulgence call'd,
 Indulgent was their parent, and their nurse
 A kind protectress of the self-same race,
 That in her quarrels spills her children's blood 180
 And now would fleece them of the hard-earn'd fruits
 Of long laborious toil. Ye have no right;

neglect of them.—They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence." *Ramsay*, i. 57. See *Franklin's Works*, i. 360; "Intended Vindication;" and gov. Pownall's speech, May, 1770, *Debrett*, v. 315.

182. *Ye have no right*;—"It is my opinion, (said lord Chatham,) that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the Colonies, &c."—"The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it." *Debrett*, iv. 290, 291; See vii. 13; *Almon*, ii. 14-5; x. 12.

"My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable;—this position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or representative; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery; he throws down, and destroys the distinction between liberty and slavery. Taxation and representation are coeval with, and essential to this constitution. I wish the maxim of Machiavel was followed, that of examining a constitution, at certain periods, according to its first principles; this would correct abuses and supply defects. I wish the times would bear it, and that men's minds were cool enough to enter upon such a task, and that the representative authority of this kingdom was more equally settled." &c. &c. Lord Camden, *Debrett*, iv. 365; *Almon*, ii. 13-4. Compare gov. Pownall's speech, Feb. 8, 1769, v. 61; and Mr. Fox's, May 2, 1774, vii. 249; marquis of Granby's,

Yes ! I repeat, ye have no legal right
 To tax your colonies. To give and grant
 What is his own, belongs to free-born man ; 184
 It is the slave who holds no property
 But at a master's nod. Of this great truth
 Your blustering ministers seem sensible ;
 They tax, and untax, then they tax again,
 As if the human feelings were their sport. 190
 And yet they talk of dignity, that dignity,

Almon, i. 418 ; sergeant Adair's, *Almon*, iii. 65-6 ; Mr. D. Hartley's, 345 ; Mr. Temple Luttrell's, vi. 24 ; Mr. Wilkes's, iii. 8 ; Mr. Burke's, *Debrett*, vii. 135.

188. *Your blustering ministers &c.*—"Preposterously, you began with violence ; and before terrors could have any effect, either good or bad, your ministers immediately begged pardon ; and promised that repeal to the obstinate Americans, which they had refused in an easy, good-natured, complying British parliament.—Your ministerial directors blustered like tragick tyrants here ; and then went mumping with a sore leg in America, canting, and whining, and complaining of faction." Burke, *Debrett*, vii. 139. See 131. 134. 141-2. 167 ; *Almon*, iv. 125.

"The whole of your political conduct (said lord Chatham) has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, blundering, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption." *Almon*, ii. 29. See *Ramsay*, i. 88.

191. *And yet they talk of dignity.*—"So that now, (said Mr. Burke, May 9, 1770,) not only dignity, but government and power are all brought to nought. Every instrument is gone ; there is neither civil nor military. The malignity of your will is abhorred ; the debility of your power is contemned, which ever has been, and is now the case of a government without wisdom." *Debrett*, v. 331. "You are therefore at this moment in the awkward situation of fighting for a phantom ; a quiddity ; a thing that wants not only a substance, but even a name ; for a thing, which is neither abstract right, nor profitable enjoyment. They tell you, sir, that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, but this dignity of yours is a terrible incumbrance to you ; for it has of late been ever at war with your interest, your equity, and every idea of your policy. Shew the thing you contend for to be reason ; shew it to be

Once the proud boast of Britons, now contemn'd;
 But stop their mad career; conciliate
 Your injur'd brethren ere it be too late;
 Restore their rights and laws; and they will fly 195
 To meet with open arms your proffer'd love.
 But should you still persist, and fondly hope
 By your superiour force to over-awe
 Their British spirit, despair, and liberty

common sense; shew it to be the means of attaining some useful end; and then I am content to allow it what dignity you please. But what dignity is derived from the perseverance in absurdity, is more than ever I could discern." vii. 135. Of the variegated nature of this dignity, and its political consequence, the reader may see some specimens in *Belsham*, i. 423; viii. 397.

193. *conciliate &c.*—"Adopt some lenient measures, which may lure them to their duty; proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves; and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors; clasp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms; and I will venture to affirm you will find them children worthy of their sire." Chatham, *Debrett*, vii. 13. See *Almon*, ii. 6-7.

199. *despair, and liberty*—"Let us not, sir, drive them to despair; the despair of a brave people always turns to courage: that courage once exerted, God knows what may be the end of it." Mr. N. Calvert, *Debrett*, iv. 299. "The people of America are husbandmen—are unaccustomed to arms;—yet if you attempt to force taxes against the spirit of the people there, you will find, when perhaps it is too late, that they are of a spirit which will resist all force; which will grow stronger by being forced; will prove superior to all force, and ever has been unconquerable: they are of a spirit to abide, nay, to court, persecution; and if—they should once take it into their heads that they are under a state of persecution, that spirit of enthusiasm which is of their temper, and of their very nature, will arise, and every mischievous consequence, in every extreme, will accompany it." Gov. Pownall, *Debrett*, v. 56. "*The Americans* (exclaims lord Chatham, Jan. 20, 1775,) *love liberty better than life.*" *Almon*, ii. 8. They are the genuine descendants of a noble ancestry; and I heartily coincide in the patriotick wish

Will to their cause unite their potent aid, 200
 And soon an armed nation will arise
 To spurn your feeble efforts. Should success,
 Which patient Heaven avert, attend your cause,
 And should Columbia fall beneath the rod
 Of iron power, like Sampson will she fall, 205
 And crush with her our best and dearest rights.
 Ye have what I advise, but much I fear
 How little 't will avail; a modesty

of the noble lord, "that the young gentlemen of our time would imitate them." Compare *Belsham*, ii. 32.

203. *Which patient Heaven avert*.—"It is with pleasure (said gov. Johnstone) I perceive the force of this country, when wielded in such a cause, is totally inadequate." *Almon*, iii. 26. And sir Jos. Mawbey, addressing himself, Mar. 12, 1776, to lord Howe and gen. Burgoyne, after giving testimony to their personal worth, "expressed his astonishment that such men would be concerned in so infamous and diabolical a business; and owned, that however he might esteem them as men, he wished that they might not succeed; but that the cause of justice, humanity, freedom and the constitution, might prevail." *Ib.* 408.

"One hope, sir, (said Mr. T. Luttrell,) I will however still entertain, and which I am neither afraid, nor ashamed to avow; it is, that the Americans may prove successful in the maintainance of their just rights." *Ib.* iii. 243-4. In the same spirit Mr. Wilkes, *Almon*, vi. 17.

205. *like Sampson*.—"In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her." Lord Chatham, *Debrett*, iv. 297.

208. *a modesty*.—"The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house, which does not chuse to contradict a minister. Even your chair, sir, looks too often towards St. James's. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative.

That fears to give offence, I know not how,
 Has crept within these walls: O! that, at last, 210
 You would be wise, and reverence yourselves!
 The British minister should be the voice
 Of Britain's Commons, and the Commons be

Lord Bacon had told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another." *Ib.* 296.

212. *The British minister should be &c.*—"The word minister, my lords, has been very much misunderstood of late. It has a British, and a French signification. In the British sense, my lords, it signifies a servant of the parliament, a servant of the people, as well as of the crown.—The French sense of the word minister, my lords, *maitre de palais*, is one who acts in place of the king, one who is accountable to none but the king, let him be guilty of never so many miscarriages or mismanagements. I am sorry to see it, but we seem of late to have adopted this last sense of the word. Ministers of Great Britain seem to be as absolute as they are in France: But, my lords, I hope your lordships will assert the dignity of this house, &c." D. of Argyle, *Timberland*, vi. 229. It was this dignity that emboldened lord Chatham to tell the council, that "he was called into the ministry by *the voice of the people*, and to them held himself answerable for his conduct." *Enyc. Brit.* art. *Pitt*.

213. *and the Commons be &c.*—"Whoever understands the theory of the English constitution, and will compare it with the fact, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country. We must reduce our political practice as nearly as possible to our political principles. The constitution intended that there should be a *permanent relation between the constituent and representative body of the people*. Will any man affirm that, as the house of commons is now formed, that relation is in every degree preserved? My lords, it is not preserved; it is destroyed."—"The corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprises of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the constitution. For this great evil, some immediate remedy must be provided; and I confess, my lords, I did hope, that his majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse, without paying some attention to an object, which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the constitution, some

The voice of Britain's people; 'tis the want
 Of this harmonious union, that perchance 215
 Hath caus'd this modest fear to give offence;
 Even our liberty of speech is now

impediment formed to stop the rapid progress of corruption. I doubt not we all agree that something must be done."—"The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and without entering into an invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation."—"It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities, and counties, that the strength and vigour of the constitution resides, and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever arise, will the constitution be honestly and firmly defended. I would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown." Lord Chatham, Jan. 22, 1770, *Debate*, v. 154-5; see 162, 177, 355, 389. In another debate, this indignant statesman, and independent Briton, speaking of the boroughs, exclaims; "A borough, which perhaps no man ever saw; this is what is called, the rotten part of the constitution; it cannot continue a century; if it does not drop, it must be amputated." Jan. 14, 1766; *Debate*, iv. 291. "I shall grant (said lord Carteret, in 1740,) that a perfect harmony between king and parliament, has always hitherto given weight to the king's counsels abroad; but from whence did this proceed? It proceeded from the *parliament speaking the language of the people*; for if ever a parliament, by corruption, or other means, should begin to *speak the language of ministers*, without regard to the sentiments of the people, a good harmony between king and parliament, will then have no authority at home, and consequently can have no more effect abroad, than a good harmony between the king and his ministers, I was going to say his footmen; for a minister that is hated by the people, is in a more precarious situation, and must be more dependant, than any of the king's footmen." *Timberland*, vii. 472. "The distinguishing, and sole sign of a people's being free, is that of their being governed by those laws, and those men they approve of." See the earl of Halifax's speech, *ib.* 523; duke of Argyle's, 677.

217. *Our liberty of speech &c.*—"Gentlemen, sir, have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this un-

Imputed as a crime ; but such a crime,
 And such an imputation shall not turn
 Me from my purpose, tho' I'm stigmatiz'd 220
 With faction and sedition. For who speaks
 Or writes, or acts in times that are corrupt,
 And hears not rank abuse, had better cease
 To act, or write, or speak ; since what he does
 Reaches not home, and 'tis the hearts of men, 225
 Conscious of ill, that prompts them to revile
 The works of uprightness, and patriot worth.
 In such bad times abuse is virtue's meed,
 For slower are the good to give applause
 Than are the bad to censure. 'Tis our right, 230
 It is our bounden duty to declare
 The soul's free sentiments, and him who robs
 Man of his rights, tho' arm'd with triple steel,
 Avenging justice soon will overtake,
 And hurl him headlong from his towering height.
 Britons ! once more ere the blest time be past, 236

happy act, and that freedom has been their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house, imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project." *Ld. Chatham, Debrett*, iv. 294 ; so also *Mr. Burke, Almon*, iii. 170 ; and *lord Camden*, v. 92 ; *Mr. Fox*, ix. 212. *Sir Gilbert Elliot*, "in explicit terms stigmatized those who were of an opposite opinion, as a set of people pervaded with the spirit of faction." *Almon*, viii. 2. And *colonel Luttrell* expressed his "abhorrence of principles which led men to support rebellion—He could not remain silent, when he saw a set of men combined together to betray their country—abettors of treason and rebellion, &c." *Ib.* 317-8. See *Belsham*, i. 96. note.

Restore Columbia to her rights, and laws ;
 Your country too restore to happiness.
 But ere I close there is one subject more,
 Which fain I would not notice to your ears, 240
 But that indignant justice urges on.
 Methought I heard, would that I were deceiv'd !
 That neither Heaven, nor Nature, hath forbid
 To use the Indian scalplings—Gracious God !
 That thou should'st sit upon thy mercy-seat, 245
 Nor bare thy arm to vengeance ! Who is he
 That, to the evils of this murderous war,
 Dares authorize, and league with British arms
 The horrid scalping-knife and tomahawk
 Of Savages ? What being civilized 250
 Would claim alliance with brutality ?
 Curse on such odious stains on Britain's sons !

242. *Methought I heard*, &c. The earl of Suffolk, secretary of state, had more than once vindicated the employment of Indians in the American war ; " For my part," said his lordship, 18th Nov. 1777, " whether foreigners or Indians, which the noble lord has described by the appellation of savages, I shall ever think it justifiable to exert every means in our power to repel the attempts of our rebellious subjects. I am clearly of opinion that we are fully justified in using every means which God and Nature has put into our hands." *Almon*, x. 25 ; and again p. 48, in almost the same words ; and compare p. 82 ; and lord Dunmore declared, " that he heartily wished more Indians were employed ; that they were by no means a cruel people ; that they never exercised the scalping-knife, or were guilty of a barbarity, but by way of striking terror into their enemies, and by that means putting an end to the further effusion of blood." *Ib.* 100 ; so attorney-general Thurlow, viii. 50 ; and lord North, viii. 360. These sentiments roused the whole indignation of the British Chatham, and he gave vent to his feelings in that burst of eloquence, which the poet has endeavoured to put into metre. See the speech in *Belsham's Hist. G. III.* ii. 327—332 ; and *Life of Washington*, iii. 317—9 ; and *Almon*, x. 10. 47—8. 74. Compare Mr. Burke's speech upon this subject, *Almon*, viii. 348—350

Where are those principles that dignify
The British soldier? Where that pomp, and pride,
That circumstance of glorious war, which makes 255
Ambition virtue? Where, O Senators!
That noble sense of honour? Can this sense
Consist with plunder, and a murderer's views?
As Christian, and as human kind forbear
This horrible barbarity: the mind 260
Of man at such avowal stands aghast.
What! Call it principle to use the means
That God, and Nature put into our hands!
Can God, and Nature sanction massacre?
Can God, and Nature claim affinity 265
With torture, murder, scalps, and tomahawks?
Ye sacred Priests! whose pure unsullied hauds
Abstain from human blood; who teach mankind
To trace the foot-steps of their heavenly guide,
And mercy love with justice; vindicate 270
The laws, and doctrines of insulted Heaven.
Ye ermin'd Judges! interpose the rights
Of nature, and of man; Defend, support
The justice of your country from this spot,
This stain most horrible. Ye Senators! 275
Who Honour's, and who Virtue's laws obey!
Revere your dignity, and imitate
The bright exemplar of your noble sires.
And thou blest Genius of our favour'd isle!
I here invoke thy aid to vindicate 280
The nation's character. Should this foul deed,
This worse than Popish cruelty pollute
The British name, and annals, Spain herself

In barbarous inhumanity, and guilt
 Will boast no longer her pre-eminence. 285
 She loos'd her blood-hounds 'gainst the wretched
 sons

Of scorching Mexico; we more ruthless far
 Arm even hell-hounds 'gainst our countrymen,
 Our countrymen who stand endeared to us
 By every tie that binds humanity. 290
 Weak as I am, and now advanc'd in years,
 My duty and my conscience bade me vent
 My deep abhorrence of such cursed deeds.
 Once more then, Britons! ere it be too late
 Conciliate your brethren; let the base 295
 And viler passions of the human mind
 Be purg'd, and cleans'd away; let gratitude
 For their past services be uppermost
 In all your hearts; and may that liberty,
 Which Heaven's first charter ratified to man, 300
 Spread like the scriptural vine its sheltering leaves,

296. *And viler passions &c.*—"Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your Colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

"Be to her faults a little blind:
 Be to her virtues very kind."

Lord Chatham, an. 1766, *Debrett*, iv. 297. See above ver. 193. "Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the king where he ought to be, throned on the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him." *Almon*, vii. 95. 119-120. See the duke of Grafton's speech, *ib.* 102-3.

301. *like the scriptural vine*—Lord Chatham declared, (9th Jan. 1770,) "that liberty was a plant that deserved to be cherished; that he loved the tree, and wished well to every

And shed eternal blessings on mankind!"
 The patriot ended; but the voice of truth
 Had lost its influence; for there prevail'd
 A hidden power, which, like a talisman, 305
 Lock'd up the intellectual sense, and caus'd
 To see with other eyes, and hear with other ears.
 It is this pow'r, by which the prescient mind
 Of wisdom's son foretells the fall of states
 With certain augury; it is this power 310
 Which, like the enormous goitre on the neck
 Of Alpine peasant, preys upon the state,
 Grows with its growth, and dies but with its death.
 Nathless the applauding silence which ensued
 The patriot's voice, spake more than loudest words
 How arduous, and how long the contest is, 316

branch of it. That like the vine in the Scripture, it had spread from east to west, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert." *Debrett*, v. 129,

305. *a hidden power*, &c.—After the celebrated motion of Mr. Dunning, Apr. 6th, 1780, "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished;" after the prophetick exclamation of lord Chatham, May 1771, "that our whole constitution is giving way;" after the solemn declaration of Mr. Fox, April 1777, "that corruption and patronage had overspread the land—that the king's name was frequently prostituted by his ministers—and that majorities were found to support the worst measures with as much alacrity as the best;" and yet no efficient amendment either in church or state being likely to take place, (and this too at a time when the crash of kingdoms is resounding on all sides) the reflecting mind can only ponder in silence upon the inevitable consequences of things, and perhaps in sorrow exclaim,

' Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus
 Dardaniæ.'

See *Behnam*, iii. 25—7; *Almon*, vii. 119.

'Twixt conscience and corruption ; 't is this contest
 Which gracious Heaven ordain'd to be our guard
 Against encroaching crime, and 't will at last
 Preserve the human race ; for art requires 320
 Incessant care and trouble, oft renew'd,
 To gain its purposes, but nature acts
 With pure simplicity, and perfect ease,
 Wants no renewal for 't is ever new ;
 'T is as the orb of day, which, tho' obscur'd 325
 By passing shadows, blazes forth again,
 And from the contrast dazzles yet the more.
 This North perceiv'd, and fearful of the event,
 For tho' he knew his power, he also knew
 How popular the cause of freedom was 330
 To every British bosom, thus aloud
 Instant the silence brake ; " O Senators !
 Under the specious name of liberty
 Have faction and sedition ta'en their stand ;
 The press now teems with such licentiousness 335
 That it is time some measure be devis'd
 To stop the growing evil. You are told
 In pompous eloquence, that should you dare
 To raise the arm of power against the sons
 Of freedom, your weak efforts will redound 340
 To your disgrace, and ruin. What is this
 But faction's very voice ? And what but this

335. *The press now teems &c.*—"The liberty of the press," said lord North, an. 1774, "had got to such a height, that some measure must be thought on, &c." *Debrett*, vii, 31. See also the recommendation in the King's speech, Nov. 15th, 1763.

Hath caus'd those evils that we now deplore ?
 But be ye not dismay'd ; let no such fear
 Enter your breasts ; the force that is requir'd 345
 To bring back these rebellious colonies
 To their obedience, is so trivial
 It scarce deserves your notice ; guilt alone
 Will meet its punishment, the innocent,
 And loyal to your cause will join their aid. 350

343. *Hath caus'd those evils*—"The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house—we were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence?" Mr. Grenville, an. 1776, *Debrett*, iv. 292-3.

345. *The force that is requir'd &c.*—"The good of this act is, that four or five frigates will do the business without any military force." Lord North, an. 1774, *Debrett*, vii. 88; see *Almon*, i. 483. Even colonel Barré seems to have been led astray upon this subject. "I have not a doubt," says he, "but a very small part of our strength will, at any time, overpower them." *Ib.* 94. And general Grant declared, "that he had served in America, that he knew the Americans very well, and was certain they would not fight; they would never dare to face an English army, and that they did not possess any of the qualifications necessary to make a good soldier." *Almon*, i. 135. (so said Mr. Rigby, 421.) In another place the general affirmed, "that at the head of five regiments of infantry, he would undertake to traverse the whole country, and drive the inhabitants from one end of the continent to the other." *Life of Washington*, ii. 237. See the notes; and *Belsham*, ii. 110-1. Lord Sandwich was inspired with the same Mardonian knowledge and contempt. *Belsham*, ii. 91.

348. *Guilt alone*—Earl Gower, president of the council, contended that, "in consequence of lord Howe's proclamation, great numbers had flocked to the British standard; numbers were daily coming in; and without doubt, there were a great many loyal persons in all the different parts of America, who only waited for an opportunity of claiming the protection of the British arms. In fact, the majority of the very rebels wished to shake off the yoke they so severely felt; they were heartily tired of their new masters; and having tasted the difference between British liberty and Ameri-

Withdraw not then your confidence from men
 Who have so long enjoy'd it unreproach'd,
 But think your honour, and your interests
 Loudly command you to uphold your rights."
 Thus spake the minister, and confidence 355
 With wonted complaisance obey'd his voice.
 But confidence is a parasitick plant,
 It seldom fastens on the virtuous breast;

can tyranny, they would gladly return to their allegiance, in order to participate of those blessings enjoyed by the rest of the subjects of the British government." *Almon*, vii. 99. Truly, my good lord, you seem to have forgotten that this was the very object they were contending for.

"The rest of the colonies," said lord North, "will not take fire at the proper punishment inflicted on those who have disobeyed your authority." *Debrett*, vii. 88.

353. *your honour, and your interests*—"The constitutional authority of this kingdom over its colonies must be vindicated; and its laws obeyed throughout the whole empire. It is not only its dignity and reputation, but its power, nay its very existence depends upon the present moment." E. of Dartmouth, *Almon*, i. 39. The earl of Sandwich, "as an Englishman, and a friend to his country, could not endure the thought (of reconciliation upon the ground of independence); he would never consent to subscribe to a doctrine, so derogatory to the honour, so disgraceful to the character, and so destructive to the interests of the country. He would resign every thing sooner than accede to it." *Almon*, vii. 15-6.

357. *But confidence &c.*—"I love to be explicit, I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, bowing to the ministry, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence." Chat-ham, *Debrett*, iv. 289.

The "pliable disposition" of the house of commons was complained of by various statesmen. See speeches of lord John Cavendish, and Mr. Fox, *Almon*, vi. 50. 54. The duke of Richmond "boldly affirmed that government was carried on solely through the means of bribery and corruption; that all test of public conduct was laid aside, which depended upon freedom of thought, or freedom of acting. The indiscriminate support ministers received, to whatever measures they

But on the unsound trunk it takes deep root.
 Thus Heaven for wisest purposes depriv'd 360
 The British Senate of its intellects;
 And caus'd them to approve the worst advice,
 And him forsake who counsel'd them the best.
 But now their crowded squadrons 'gan to leave
 Their hostile ports, and over ocean's waves 365
 Plough their eventful way, fraught with disgrace,
 And ruin to themselves, but to mankind

thought proper to propose, though ever so ruinous and destructive, furnished daily proofs of it—and nothing but the personal virtue of the sovereign prevented this country from a total loss of liberty." *Almon*, vii. 12-3. x. 36-7. The duke of Grafton contended "that parliament was led blindfolded; they assented to every thing ministers proposed; they reposed an unlimited confidence in their assurances &c." *Ib.* 17. and x. 28. Lord Shelburne condemns in the strongest terms "the shameful subserviency of parliament." See *Almon*, x. 291-2. And in another place he declares "that before this country, or its constitution is recovered, that corrupt house must be new modelled. It is at present (an. 1778) the source of all corruptions and misfortunes; and if all other means should fail, the people will probably rise, and drag their corrupt and venal representatives from their seats." *Ib.* x. 392. Soon after he calls them "the servile followers of the minister; ready to obey every mandate he thinks proper to issue; totally immersed in the deepest and dirtiest ways of corruption, and lost to every sense of their own duty, and constitutional importance in the state." 394. Let us hope for the sake of humanity that his lordship did not find them quite so bad when he had the honour of holding the reins of state. See also sir G. Saville's speech, *Almon*, iii. 251. Mr. Fox says, "that the confidence of the nation is placed in their representatives; and if those to whom they had given their confidence, should transfer that confidence to the minister, they were betrayed not represented." See *Belsham*, iv. 405, and 380-1. where Mr. Sheridan "totally abjures the doctrine of confidence in ministers."

360. *Thus Heaven &c.*—"And Absalom and all the men of Israel said; The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithophel. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom." 2 Sam. xvii. 14.

Destin'd the eternal mandate to fulfil.
Oh Britain! Oh my Country! when will gold,
And slippery eloquence, and fraudulent arts 370
Cease to beguile thy too obsequious ear?
Must misery teach thee wisdom? Misery
Will soon arrive, and thou at length be taught
The best of lessons by the worst of means. 374

372. *Must misery &c.*—"That the spirit of the people," said gov. Johnstone, "should so long be deceived by their arts and management is to me astonishing. *I shall wait patiently some further calamity, for no reasoning on the certain progress of things in a growing empire can affect their narrow minds.*" *Simon*, iii. 28. "The truth is," says Washington, "the people must feel before they will see." *Life of W.* v. 95.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK V.

ARGUMENT OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

Washington. Columbia's address to her sons. Franklin's speech, inciting the Americans to defend their rights and liberties against the efforts of the British Ministry. Washington appointed commander in chief. His speech upon that occasion. Jefferson. Landing of the British. ~~Open~~. Battle of Bunker's Hill. Death of General Warren.

WASHINGTON,

OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

MEANWHILE had Fame with huge expanded wings,
Spread o'er the vast Atlantick, wide diffus'd,
The bitter tale of woe, that Britain's sons,
Forgetting British virtue, had uprear'd
The blood-stain'd standard of despotick power. 5
Columbia heard the sound; but heard unaw'd;
Rous'd by that deep internal sense of right,
Which Heaven hath planted in the human breast
To shield it from oppression, her free soul
Spurn'd all the hostile threats; she knew that God
Never designed man to be a slave; 11
She knew that freedom's heaven-clad columns rose
Up to the fountain of eternal light,
While its firm base immoveable was fix'd
In earth's adamantine centre. Were her sons 15
But true unto themselves, not all the powers
Of all the leagued potentates on earth
Could aught avail against them; 't was not force,
But art, intrigue and cunning that she fear'd;

These are the weapons that to guard against 20
Requires untainted virtue, and to these
To oppose the firmest bulwark was her care.
Among her numerous progeny was one,
So far pre-eminent above the rest,
In all those qualities of mind, which grace 25
Superiour station, that Columbia saw
In him that bulwark, which her fondest hopes
Had scarce expected. In his godlike front
Prudence, and valour had so deep ingrav'd
Each her respective attribute, that each 30
Did seem to strive for mastery ; at his birth
Wisdom, and Virtue did preside, and nam'd
In happiest hour their offspring, Washington.
As when fond Ilium saw her favour'd chief,
Arm'd for the battle, down her spacious streets 35
March like a God, her bulwark and her joy ;
So joy'd Columbia, when she saw her son
Pant to defend his country from her foe.
And now she hasten'd to convene her sons
To aid her great design ; and took her stand 40
On Bunker's summit ; whence she call'd so loud,
That all the solid continent, from where
The northern zone wrapt in eternal ice
Laughs at the solar beam, to that fam'd clime
Where Mammon hath embosom'd all his stores, 45
And pours his golden curses on mankind—
Thro' all this vast expanse her solemn voice
Re-echo'd ; “ Sons and Warriours ! Ye who long
Look'd up to Britain as another parent ;

Who spar'd no efforts to defend her cause 50
 From foreign foes, and in that cause to shed
 Your dearest blood; now learn what recompense
 Proud Britain deigns return; your rights are spurn'd,
 Your laws, and constitution, all condemn'd;
 And now the ocean groans beneath the weight 55
 Of her throng'd squadrons, come, no longer friends
 But bitterest foes, to check fair freedom's voice,
 And place the yoke of slavery on your necks.
 My Sons! But ye will teach the haughty foe
 To know himself, and learn how dire the task,
 To trample down the laws of God, and man. 61
 Haste then, convene to council, and elect
 Some chief for prudence, and for valour fam'd,
 Who in the senate, or the field, may best
 Consult your interest, and your rights defend." 65
 She spake; and they to council instant went.
 As when the ocean's hollow waves uprear
 Their foamy tops, swoln by the boisterous north;
 The winding shores with all their rocks and caves,
 Lash'd by the billowy horror, back rebound 70
 The long hoarse bellowings; but when Heaven's
 spirit

61. *To trample down &c.*—"The Americans," said Mr. Fox, Oct. 1776, "had done no more than the English had done against James the Second. When James went out of the kingdom, the English declared the throne to be abdicated, and chose another king. When the late severe laws were passed against the Americans, they were thrown into anarchy; they declared we had abdicated the government, and therefore they were at liberty to choose a government for themselves." *Almon*, vi. 44.

Breathes its ambrosial odours o'er the deep,
 The silent waves scarce ruffled, hardly give
 The solar beam to play its dazzy sport;
 So when Columbia urg'd fair freedom's sons 75
 In council to convene, the earth around
 Groan'd underneath their feet, and all the air
 Madden'd in tumult. But when Franklin rose,
 At whose right hand sat Wisdom cloth'd in light,
 And round whose head a blaze of vivid flame 80
 Play'd harmless, mute attention, still as night,
 Held all the listening throng, and thus he spake;
 "Columbia's offspring! Ye who wont to boast
 Of British blood, that uncontaminate
 Flow'd through your swelling veins, now boast no
 more; 85
 Britain is sold to gold; the wealth of Ind,

86. *the wealth of Ind, &c.*—"For some years past," said lord Chatham, Jan. 1770, "there has been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold, have forced their way into parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private hereditary fortune could resist." *Debrett*, v. 153-4; see also p. 356, where his lordship speaks of the detestation in which he holds "the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street." Even lord North complains of the "officers of the Company, who, for want of proper laws, disobeyed their masters, and thereby, as suddenly as exorbitantly, increased their own finances; a conduct which might hazard the loss of those dominions to this kingdom; might ruin the country, and make the English hated by the people over whom they tyrannized." Jan. 1772. *Debrett*, vi. 158.

Wealth not the produce of industrious toil,
 But the effect of wide-extended power,
 Has pour'd upon her such a sweeping deluge
 Of luxury, and corruption, that unless 90
 There be applied some speedy remedy,
 The state itself must fall beneath its weight.
 'Tis this corruption which hath overspread
 The British senate with its noisome fumes,
 And hath so blinded the intellectual sense 95
 That they no longer see with reason's eye,

Of a similar opinion to lord Chatham was sir G. Saville, *Id.* 256; Mr. Burrell, *Id.* 288. See sir Will. Meredith's opinion, *Id.* 482—4; the attorney-general Thurlow's, 509, 510; col. Burgoyne's, *Debrett*, vii. 57. The prodigious corruption, and the destructive influence upon the borough system, that have almost overwhelmed the nation from this unnatural influx of Indian wealth, are admirably portrayed by the earl of Shelburne, April 1777, *Almon*, vii. 86, 87. See *Belsham*, i. 228, note; 401; viii. 129; *Almon*, v. 187. 201.

Well might Mr. Burke prophesy, an. 1773, "*that this country will have reason to curse the Indies*;" *Debrett*, vi. 479. It has cursed them; it does curse them; they have been the cause, direct or indirect, of changing the British character: instead of the sturdy oak, we see too frequently the bending willow; instead of that firm and steady upholder of the best principles of the British constitution, we find the victim of luxury and the suppliant tool of power; where are we now to search for the old English country gentleman, him who had "a natural interest in the soil," a feeling indigenous to his country? He has been driven by Asiatick luxury, and Asiatick taxation from his house and home, he has sought for refuge in towns and cities, he has been forced to let the domains of his ancestors, where his name had been revered for generations, to purse-proud Begums and time-serving Nabobs. And what has the country gained by this exchange? Taxes and luxury. What has it lost, and is daily losing? Its rights, its liberties, and its feelings.

Ἄ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ἴδω.

96. no longer see &c.—Mr. Burke "compared the house of commons to a dead senseless mass, which had neither sense,

Nor hear the voice of truth, but madly steer
 The vessel of the state upon the rocks
 Of civil war. What base ingratitude
 For all the treasures that ye have consum'd, 100
 For all the blood that ye have shed for them,
 And for their interests! When did ye refuse
 Freely to grant, even beyond your power,
 Your contributions to defend their trade?
 This all their merchants know, and feel the truth,

soul, or activity, but as it derived them from the minister." *Almon*, i. 14.

"The Americans," said lord Shelburne, Oct. 1775, "judge from facts. They have seen an uniform lurking spirit of despotism pervading every administration. It has prevailed over the wisest, and most constitutional counsels; it has precipitated us into the most pernicious of all wars; a war with our brothers, our friends, and our fellow-subjects." *Almon*, v. 19.

100—4. *for all the treasures &c.*—See Dr. Franklin's Examination, an. 1766, *Debrett*, iv. 326. 339, &c., and 208, &c.; *Life of Washington*, ii. 109; *Almon*, i. 143. 248. 377—381. See causes of American discontents; and letter concerning the gratitude of America, *Franklin's Works*, i. 231. 246, and p. 362; *Ramsay*, i. 63-4. 165-6. 169.

On the 22d Jan. 1756, His Majesty sent the following message to the house of commons; "His Majesty being sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects, of certain colonies in North America, have exerted themselves in defence of His Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommends it to this house to take the same into their consideration, and to enable His Majesty to give them such assistance, as may be a proper reward and encouragement." *Debrett*, iii. 263. 258-9. 432; iv. 134.

105. *and feel the truth, &c.*—See the petition of the London merchants, and from various other towns, in 1766; *Debrett*, iv. 319—322; and 1775, *Almon*, i. 104. 169. Lord Chatham estimated the profits to Great Britain from its American trade, at two millions a year. *Ib.* 295. "You have not a loom, nor an anvil, (said col. Barré,) but what is stamped with America; it is the main prop of your trade." *Ib.* vii. 94. Mr. Burke "compared the situation of America in 1774, to a

And justice of your cause. Whence then the need 106
 To force your treasures from your willing breasts ;
 Unless it be to uphold the worst design,
 The most despotick of all principles,

funeral ; trade and commerce were pall-bearers ; the merchants and traders chief mourners ; the West Indian and African merchants closed the procession." *Almon*, i. 6. See x. 379.

107. *To force your treasures &c.*—Dr. Franklin, in that celebrated tract, (which is said to have excited such hatred in a certain breast,) called, *Rules for reducing a great Empire to a small one*, has thus written ; viii. "If when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities—reflect that a penny taken from them by your power, is more honourable to you than a pound presented by their benevolence ; *despise therefore their voluntary grants*, and resolve to harass them with novel taxes. They will probably complain to your parliament that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitions with the utmost contempt.—Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed ; for, though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt." *Franklin's Works*, i. 346-7. See *Belsham*, ii. 55.

109. *The most despotick &c.*—"The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. *They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it.*" Lord Chatham, *Debrett*, iv. 291. See *Ib.* 309. 318-9 ; and lord Camden's speech, quoted before, 364 ; gov. Pownall's, 493 ; lord Shelburne's, *Almon*, v. 66. See Albany papers, *Franklin's Works*, i. 120, &c. ; and p. 249. American Declaration of Rights, *Life of W.* ii. 212, &c. ; 112. 115. 136. 240. This complaint is of very old standing. See *Life of W.* i. 223-4. 305. 340-1.

The humility of the ministers in 1778, compared with their

To tax where is no representative? 110
 Have they redress'd one grievance? Have they not
 Pass'd their despotick laws to drag us hence
 By force, and violence to be condemn'd

former arrogance, is an instructive proof of the necessity that wisdom should preside over the affairs of a great kingdom. See *Belsham*, ii. 363-4.

111. *Have they redress'd &c.*—"To the petition which Mr. Penn delivered into the hands of the earl of Dartmouth on the 1st of Sept. 1775, he was, after a short interval, informed that 'no answer would be given!'" *Belsham*, ii. 152. "How did we treat America (said lord Chatham)? Petitions rejected; complaints unanswered; dutiful representations treated with contempt; an attempt to establish despotism on the ruins of constitutional liberty; measures to enforce taxation by the point of the sword." *Almon*, x. 76. See *Life of W.* ii. 273, note; 472-3; *Ramsay*, i. 141. 346.

112. *laws to drag us hence*—i. e. by reviving the obsolete statute of the 35th of Hen. VIII. "But to include, by a forced and preposterous construction, the colonies of North America in the scope of this statute was certainly a most unparalleled perversion of law and justice." *Belsham*, ii. 12. See also the Act for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts Bay, *Ib.* 54. Compare *Ramsay*, i. 107-8. *Life of W.* ii. 159. 170, note; 195.

The celebrated "Prussian Edict," written by Dr. Franklin in ridicule of these laws, concludes in these words—"And all persons in the said island are hereby cautioned not to oppose in any wise the execution of this our edict, or any part thereof, such opposition being high treason; of which all who are suspected shall be transported in fetters from Britain to Prussia, there to be tried and executed according to the Prussian law.

Such is our pleasure."

Franklin's Works, i. 321. See 314. 352-3; *Debrett's Deb.* v. 21-2. 54-5. 67. Mr. Burke mentioned "with horror, the idea of tearing a man from his family and friends the other side the Atlantic, and tearing his heart out in Smithfield, styling it the heart of a traitor, because he would not believe in—virtual representation, and because he would not believe that America—was part of the manor of Greenwich." *Almon*, i. 168; ii. 82; lord Camden's speech; and vii. 114, *Lords' Deb.* where is an abstract of American sufferings. So viii. 140.

At foreign courts by juries prejudic'd?
 Surely the govern'd can themselves best judge, 115
 That which is best, because they feel their ills,
 And feeling know the appropriate remedy.
 Where have they shown their mercy? Where re-
 fus'd,
 With more than Indian barbarity,
 To vote a famine to their kindred blood? 120
 And yet they offer pardon; pardon whom?

115. *can themselves best judge, &c.*—"That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained; forts to be built and supported; and of their own abilities to bear the expense; than the parliament of England at so great a distance." Albany papers, *Franklin's Works*, i. 122-3. "Those that feel can best judge." Dr. Franklin in his Examination, *Debrett*, iv. 330.

"There is no great reason (said lord Talbot) to imagine that those who choose a form of government for themselves, will be mistaken in their choice." *Debrett's Deb.* i. 194-5. See iv. 494. 309.

118. *Where have they shown their mercy? &c.*—By the bill to restrain the fishery of New England, Mr. Burke said, "you sentence to famine at least 300,000 people in two provinces." *Almon*, i. 297. See 293. 303; the Protest of the Lords, ii. 99—102; iii. 242; Mr. Fox's speech, v. 93; lord Camden's; and x. 30-1.

121. *And yet they offer pardon;*—Lord Camden considered the commission given to lord and sir William Howe, for granting pardons to the Americans, as "an insult on their understanding." *Almon*, vii. 117, *Lords*. And Dr. Franklin, in his answer to lord Howe, July 30, 1776, writes thus; "Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured; expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect, than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government, that has, with the most wanton barbarity

Men need no pardon in their country's cause.

Shall then an isle, a speck upon the world,

and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers; and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood." *Franklin's Works*, i. 370. General Washington, in his reply to adjutant-general Paterson, said, "that by what had transpired, their (the commissioners) powers extended merely to the granting of pardons; that those who had been guilty of no fault, wanted no pardon; and that they were only defending what they deemed their indisputable rights." *Belsham*, ii. 250-1. See the duke of Manchester's speech, *Almon*, v. 264-5.

123. *an isle, a speck &c.*—"If you look on the map of the globe, and view Great Britain and North America, and compare the extent of both; if you consider the soil, the harbours, rivers, climate, and increasing population of the latter; nothing but the most obstinate blindness and partiality, can prevail on any man to entertain a serious opinion, that such a country will long continue under subjection to this." E. of Coventry, *Almon*, v. 184. "A war, (said the duke of Manchester) carried on against a part of our fellow-subjects, whose numbers, at least, equal a fifth of the whole, and who in extent of country so far exceeds the size of Britain, that the comparison of her is but as a speck in the disk of the sun." *Ib.* 258. See ii. 40-1. "It is impossible, (said lord Camden,) that this petty island can continue in dependence that mighty continent, increasing daily in numbers, and strength." ii. 85. See iii. 245.

But Mr. Hartley has set this subject in the clearest point of view; "Whatever superintending power or controul a parent-state may be entitled to, in the infancy of any colony, as for the common good of any such colony in its infancy; yet the ultimate end of all colonization is, and ought to be, to establish kindred and derivative communities into perfect societies, in the fullness of population, settlement, prosperity, and power.—These colonies, under the auspicious and friendly eye of the parent-state, have at length out-grown the imbecility of their infant-state, and approach to the maturity of settlement and population, and all the arts of life, and thereby are become capable of that glorious inheritance of perfect freedom, which their parent-state has in former times rescued out of the hands of tyrants, with a view to assert it for the common good and use of mankind, and particularly

Give laws and taxes to a continent ?

Insular habits have so pall'd their sense, 125

That, like some South-sea islets, they nor see,

Nor know beyond their narrow horizon.

But think not that the nation joins their cause ;

No ! They with Chatham, Saville, Rockingham,

And the chosen list of patriots firmly knit, 130

Boldly express their hopes that violence

to transmit it entire to their own descendants." *Almon*, vii. 206. See *Ramsay*, i. 336.

128. *But think not that the nation &c.*—"I am persnaded the body of the British people are our friends ; but they are changeable, and by your lying gazettes may soon be made our enemies." *Franklin's Works*, i. 555. The people of England are, indeed, too frequently deluded by the arts of sophistry, and too much borne down by the pressures of taxation, but their hearts are bottomed on soundness and integrity ; and like that glorious orb which scatters the mists of their atmosphere, so they sooner or later never fail to disperse the vapours of delusion.

Compare the spirited address, remonstrance, and petition of the city of London to the king, April 10, 1775, *Almon*, ii. 178.

"Respecting general opinion, (said gov. Johnstone,) I still go further ; I maintain that the sense of the best and wisest men in this country is on the side of the Americans ; that three to one in Ireland are on their side ; that the soldiers and sailors feel an unwillingness to the service ; that you never will find the same exertions of spirit in this, as in other wars. I speak it to the credit of the fleet and army ; they do not like to butcher men, whom the greatest characters in this country consider as contending in the glorious cause of preserving those institutions which are necessary to the happiness, security and elevation of the human mind." &c. *Almon*, iii. 24-5.

"I am confident, (said the hon. T. Luttrell,) as well from the intelligence I have been able to procure from a multitude of persons, widely different in station and description, as by my own remarks in the progress of many a journey through the interior of this island, during the summer season, that the sense of the mass of the people is in favour of America." &c. *Almon*, iii. 32. See 101. 283-4. 438-9 ; *Debrett*, v. 93-4.

131. *that violence &c.*—The M. of Rockingham, Jan. 22,

Nor here, nor there will profit aught to good.
 Then be ye not dismay'd ; your cause is just,
 And Heaven, which in its goodness has postpon'd
 This dire attempt against your liberties 135
 Till you're full-grown in vigour, and in arms,
 That Heaven will crush the swollen threats of men,
 And crown Columbia's efforts with success.
 What tho' their fleets and armies crowd the main ;
 What tho' their German mercenaries, bought 140

1770, observed, " that in America, measures of violence had been adopted, and it had been the uniform language and doctrine of the ministry to force that country to submit. That, in his opinion, violence would not do there, and he hoped it would not do here." *Debrett*, v. 147.

136. *Till you're full-grown &c.*—" We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves." *Life of W.* ii. 287. This very declaration is objected to them by lord Mansfield, *Almon*, v. 167. See Mr. Wilkes's speech, *Almon*, iii. 219, 220.

140. *German mercenaries*,—See the various treaties with the duke of Brunswick ; the landgrave of Hesse Cassel ; hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, &c. *Almon*, iii. 287—300, &c. with the subsequent speech. The right hon. T. Townshend gives a curious description of those troops: he says ; " they were enlisted in the Hans towns, which were known to be the asylum of all the rogues and vagabonds of the rest of Germany ; men who had fled their respective countries for their crimes. When such men, therefore, came to serve in America, to suppose that they would fight cordially for this country, and for its right, was folly and absurdity in the extreme." &c. *Ib.* 493.

Lord Shelburne alluding to a negotiation for 20,000 Russians ; " There are powers in Europe (says his lordship) who will not suffer such a body of Russians to be transported to America. I speak from information. The ministers know what I mean. Some power has already interposed to stop the success of the Russian negotiation." *Almon*, v. 69-70. See 131. 187-8. 264.

At human shambles, join their odious cause?
 If justice be not with them, they must fail.
 Fear ye them not, but as the traveller,
 Dreadless of danger, from the mountain-top,
 Views the fork'd lightning play beneath his feet,
 And hears the growling thunder; so shall ye, 146
 From freedom's heayen-clad summit, undismay'd,
 View the frail efforts of expiring power.
 It has been question'd, what your numbers are?
 What capable of arms? Your revenue? 150
 Your present taxes, and capacity
 To bear still more? Poor foolish men! to think

"You have ransacked (said lord Chatham) every corner of Lower Saxony; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen: they may ravage; they cannot conquer." vii. 93. And again; "They (the ministers) have gone to Germany; they have sought the alliance and assistance of every pitiful, beggarly, insignificant, paltry German prince, to cut the throats of their loyal, brave, and injured brethren in America. They have entered into mercenary treaties with those human butchers, for the purchase and sale of human blood. But, my lords, this is not all: they have entered into other treaties. They have let the savages of America loose upon their innocent, inoffending brethren; loose upon the weak, the aged, and defenceless; on old men, women, and children; upon the very babes upon the breast, to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, broiled, roasted, nay, to be literally eat. These, my lords, are the allies Great Britain now has; carnage, desolation, and destruction, wherever her arms are carried, is her newly adopted mode of making war. Our ministers have made alliances at the German shambles; and with the barbarians of America, with the merciless torturers of their species: where they will next apply, I cannot tell." &c. *Almon*, x. 9-10. See iv. 134; *Belsham*, ii. 188-9. 326-7.

149. *It has been question'd, &c.*—See the Examination of Dr. Franklin, *Debrett*, iv. 324. 336; and *Franklin's Works*, i. 260. 282.

'That freedom's cause e'er rested for support
 On revenue, or taxes; freedom's cause
 Rests on the centre of eternity, 155
 Plac'd by the Maker near the throne of light;"
 Thunders of acclamation stopp'd the sage,
 With peal on peal re-iterate, until
 At length he thus; "But what your numbers are,
 The justice of your cause may best inform. 160
 If all your foes were tenfold multiplied,
 And you yourselves divided in ten parts,
 One single part, in freedom's potent cause,
 Would gain an easy victory o'er their whole;"
 The skies again re-echoed loud acclame, 165
 And thus again the sage; "Columbians!
 Tell them your taxes, and your revenue
 Flow in your free-born veins; while ye have blood,
 Ye will not hesitate to spill that blood
 For freedom, and your country. What! shall we
 Who with unwearied patience have endur'd 171
 Toils, dangers, famine, and the savage brute,
 And still more savage Indian? Say, shall we
 Who sought for freedom in a wilderness,
 So far forget our nature, and our rights, 175

153. *That freedom's cause &c.*—"Though the colonists were without discipline, they possessed native valour. Though they had neither gold nor silver, they possessed a mine in the enthusiasm of their people. Paper for upwards of two years, produced to them more solid advantages, than Spain derived from her super-abounding precious metals." &c. See *Ramsay*, i. 199; ii. 101; and the marquis of Lansdowne's observation upon the French enthusiasm, *Belsham*, v. 130-1.

As to yield every blessing at the nod
Of arbitrary power ? Such were a deed
That even brutes would spurn ; no spotted pard
Kneels to his kindred spots ; no lion bends
To his own semblance. No ! 'Tis man alone 180
Subserves his fellow weakness, and by words
False, and deceitful, shields his cowardice
Under high-sounding titles. Man should serve
Those laws, and constitution, which alone
Himself approves and shares. Be ye such men, 185
Think of your noble fathers ; and reflect
How dear they bought those charters, and those
rights,
Which unpolluted have come down to you.
Let us transmit their purchase and their fame,
By power unfetter'd, and from shackles free 190
To our expectant sons. On this day's deed,
Millions unborn depend ; posterity
With all its blessings wait the patriot act :
But if we tamely bow our suppliant necks
To arbitrary power, incessant curse 195

189. *Let us transmit &c.*—See the animated resolutions of the county of Suffolk in Massachusetts, “ whereas this, then savage and uncultivated desert, was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valour of those, our venerable progenitors ; to us they bequeathed the dear-bought inheritance ; to our care and protection they consigned it ; and the most sacred obligations are upon us, to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring. On the fortitude, on the wisdom, and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions.” *Life of W.* ii. 209. 227 ; and v. 188-9. See *Ramsey*, i. 7, &c. ; *Almon*, i. 95.

Will load our blasted memories, until
 The stream itself of time shall be absorb'd
 In the vast ocean of eternity.
 What if our towns, and cities are consum'd?
 Cities consum'd may yet be built again; 200
 But freedom lost, man's better moiety,
 Like the fair flower that's trodden underfoot
 Scarce holds a semblance of its former self.
 But 't is not, O Columbians! for your valour
 That Franklin trembles; 't is that base intrigue, 205
 That curs'd corruption, which too soon will pour
 Its Stygian torrent o'er your fertile soil.
 O guard against that serpent race of men
 Who offer you their gold; with loyalty,
 And virtue, honour, ever in their mouths; 210
 But in their hearts the basest of designs,
 The black design to rob you of your rights:
 Better by far to die; for what is death

199. *What if our towns, &c.*—"Our houses (said Mr Gadsden) being constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed, may be rebuilt; but liberty once gone, is lost for ever." *Ramsay*, i. 197.

205. *'t is that base intrigue, &c.*—The celebrated Joseph Reed replied to a corrupt offer of one of the British commissioners; "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it;" and the Congress, upon this information, and the commissioners' letters being communicated, resolved, "that the same cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of Congress to hold any manner of correspondence, or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, esq., especially to negotiate with him upon affairs, in which the cause of liberty is interested." *Ramsay*, ii. 78. See 75; *Life of W.* iii. 429-430; iv. 10; *Almon*, v. 232.

When 'tis compar'd with loss of liberty?
He dies a daily death, who lives a slave. 216
'Tis against these your free, and open hearts
Cannot be too well guarded : 'Tis to these
You must oppose some rock of firm defence,
Some chosen chief who reigns in every breast,
Whom virtue, and whom wisdom mark their own.
But Heaven, Columbians ! even now befriends 221
Our virtuous cause ; let each man search his heart,
And there he'll find a name so deep ingrav'd,
As needs no tongue of mine to utter it ;
A name, which as their father's, all revere." 225
Instant the electrick pass'd thro' every breast,
And all the earth rebounded, ' Washington !'
Angels look'd down, and sanctified the name.
As the chaste virgin to the constant youth,
Who gains her heart, yields up her trembling hand,
Scarce knowing what she doth, while o'er her form
The crimson virtue spreads its glowing charms ; 232
So when the chieftain hears the greeting sound,
Rapt in his native modesty and worth,
He scarce believes that what he hears is real, 235
Scarce knows himself, but as the Roman chief,
Obedient to his senate's awful voice,
With pleasing sadness left his furrow'd field
To assume the reins of empire, and defend
His menac'd country ; so Columbia's chief, 240
Half willing, half unwilling, to the call
Of his much injur'd country yields assent.
Full well he knew how arduous was the task ;

Full oft he thought how feeble his own powers ;
 But vain was all remonstrance, for as oft 245
 As he essay'd to express his modest fears,
 So oft the joyous skies reflected back
 The lengthen'd acclamations ; but at last
 Struggling in gratitude, his swollen heart
 With difficulty thus found utterance ; 250
 " Friends, Lovers, Countrymen ! If gratitude
 Were just requital for your high regards,
 My labouring breast emboldens me to say
 I would not be found wanting ; but the State
 Something far greater seeks than gratitude ; 255
 Judgment to guide, with prudence to foresee,
 Impartial justice, and discernment quick,
 Continued perseverance, fortitude,
 Assiduous attention to a vast
 Variety of things, with patience 260
 Amidst unnumber'd sufferings, nor least
 That dignity of name and character
 Which stamps the owner great, and rises far
 Superiour to envy ; but these boons
 Fall to the lot of few, and how much less 265
 To one whom cares domestick occupy
 And his paternal farm ! too well I know

251. *Friends, Lovers, &c.*—The reader may see the modest answer of Washington to the president of Congress upon his being appointed commander in chief, in his *Life*, ii. 299. &c. Compare ii. 93 ; v. 834—841. where his character is well delineated. See also the dedication of the work to lord Lansdowne : and preface, xvi ; iii. 365 note. On his love of retirement Washington is particularly urgent. See v. 48. 182. 195. 202-4. 543. 767 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 345-6. &c.

How feeble are my powers ; too much I fear
The sad result of plans, that would require
The deepest ken of penetration's eye. 270
But 't is not mine to disobey the voice
Of my dear country, for to that we owe,
As to a parent, all we hold most dear,
Our life the least ; may then that parent's love
Pardon my failures, and set right my steps 275
Where'er the dark, and intricate of things
Obscure the forward path ; and may that Being,
Whose mercy shines benignant o'er our clime,
Direct my efforts to his destin'd good !"
The chieftain ended, and Columbia's sons 280
Scarce heard the cheering sound, than in loud shouts ;
"Hail ! Chieftain ! hail ! Columbia's saviour, hail !
'T is to thy wisdom, and thy potent arm
We willing trust our cause, and long may Heaven
Preserve the sacred life of Washington !" 285
Here stop, my Muse ! to observe yon generous
youth,
Whose downy cheeks the bloom of health adorns ;
Whose virtuous mind, with genuine glory fir'd,
Streams from his swollen eyes. See where he stands
Close by his country's guardian. Noble youth !
Thou too shalt be Columbia's future joy ; 291

284. *and long may Heaven &c.*—"All that remains is, (says an address to Washington,) that we join in your fervent supplications for the blessing of Heaven on our country, and that we add our own for the choicest of these blessings on the most beloved of our citizens." *Life of W.* v. 204.

Her glory, and her pride ; Yes ! Jefferson !
 The cause of freedom, and the cause of man,
 Shall not to thy protection trust in vain ;
 Thou too shalt be another Washington. 295

Meanwhile the hostile squadrons, urg'd by fate,
 Made their descent on Boston's warlike shores ;
 Such was the heavenly will ; for thro' the extent
 Of all Columbia, scarce was there a spot
 Where freedom's altar blaz'd with brighter flame :
 No ! not Virginia's ardent soul out-stript 301
 The energies of Boston. Here fate will'd
 The British squadrons to fulfil their doom,
 And work the work of Heaven in aid of man.
 Here Gage, Cornwallis, Burgoyne, Clinton, Howe,
 Pigot, and Carleton, and some other names, 306
 Which time will lend to history, made descent.

292. *Jefferson!*—The high respect in which Washington held this enlightened friend of the human race, may be gathered from his having placed him at the head of the department of foreign affairs. And when we add that his country has thought him qualified to fill that chair, which was once occupied by Washington himself; all further commendation would be useless. See *Life of W.* v. 244. 417-8.

299. *scarce was there a spot &c.*—See *Ramsay*, i. 189, &c. Lord North observed; "that all the disturbances that had been in the provinces, or colonies in America, had originated in the town of Boston," &c. *Debrett*, vii. 70. Mr. Burke said; "The cause of Boston is become the cause of all America. By these acts of oppression, you have made Boston the lord mayor of America." *Almon*, i. 6. See *Life of W.* ii. 151; and compare i. 235. 343, &c.

301. *Virginia's &c.*—"Virginia led the way in opposition to the Stamp-act." *Ramsay*, i. 59.

306. *other names*,—Such as, Parker, Tarleton, de Heister, Grant, Leslie, Grey, Knipphausen, Matthews, Stirling, Percy, Erskine, Prescott, Phillips, Reidesel, Frazer, Powell, Hamilton, Arbuthnot, O'Hara, Nesbit, Ross, &c.

Scarce had their feet burthen'd the generous soil,
When to their wondering eyes, the bird of fate,
With plumage just renew'd, tower'd to the left 310
Screaming aloud, and in her talons bore
Two timorous doves ; these after various wheels
Poising herself in air, she lifeless dropt
Close to Cornwallis', and to Burgoyne's feet.
Amazement seiz'd them both ; they knew the omen,
But knew too late, for Heaven had destin'd them
Its instruments in freedom's glorious cause. 317
Short-sighted Man ! How often dost thou work
The work of good, when thy poor narrow soul
Is bent on nought but evil ! And now the time 320
Approach'd, when victory and freedom join'd
Would show the world how little art avail'd
And discipline, against the sons of men,
When with one mind resolv'd to guard their rights.
There was a mount near Boston's sea-lav'd walls,
Which all the coast commanded and the foe. 326
Here Freedom, and Columbia in one night
Rais'd such intrenchments that th' astonish'd Britons

328. *Rais'd such intrenchments &c.*—"The provincials proceeded to Breed's hill, (instead of Bunker's hill,) and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence that they were not heard by the British, on board their vessels, though very near. These having derived their first information of what was going on, from the sight of the work near completion, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness, and though they were only young soldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a small breastwork," &c. See the account of the battle in *Ramsey*, i. 201, &c. ; *Life of W.* ii. 289, &c. ; *Belsham*, ii. 145.

Scarce thought them real ; but Gage's piercing eye,
Soon undeceiv'd, still more admir'd the skill, 330
And sciences they portray'd. Instant he saw
His danger, and as instant gave the sign
Of blood. And now the nitred thunder mixt
With sulphurous lightning, pour'd their iron hail
From sea and land upon the sons of men. 335
But Freedom saw, and with celestial breath
Breath'd on the storm, which in the rooted earth
Whizz'd its averted way. The British chief,
Inflam'd with rage that Freedom's haughty sons
Should thus withstand his power, and undismay'd
Extend their dangerous works, instant resolv'd 341
To force the intrenchments with his choicest troops ;
This honour, interest, safety, all enjoin'd,
And thus to Howe he spake ; "Thou seest the foe,
How daring his rebellious spirit defies 345
Our distant power ; 't is time we show our force
In all its terrours ; take some chosen troops,
And let the horrent bayonet drive thence
These haughty rebels : on thy well-known worth
My firmest hopes rely for prompt success ; 350
For should the setting sun o'ershade the plains,
And those proud rebels still retain their post,
Disgrace, and ruin must attend our cause,
And British valour cease to be the theme
Of universal praise. Haste then, and crown'd 355
With well-earn'd laurels may'st thou soon return !"
Thus spake the chief, and Howe obedient heard.
And now the British veterans 'gan their march ;

Destructive march, the bitter cause of woe
To victors as to vanquish'd ; but scarce reach'd 360
Their midway course, when Freedom, who that day
Had Warren's form assum'd, thus to her sons
Exclaim'd aloud ; " Now is the time arriv'd,
When all those rights and privileges, for which
Your noble fathers left their native home, 365
And came to dwell with savages, and brutes,
Rather than they would forfeit ; which alone
Make life itself a blessing, and endear
Man to his Maker ; these endanger'd all
By the iron hand of power, now rest on you, 370
Pure as you have receiv'd them from your sires,
Down to your children to transmit as pure.
Think that the spirits of those godlike men
Now look from heaven on you their chosen sons ;
Yes ; far above the rest are ye now chosen, 375
To guard the post of honour, and defend
Your rights, your laws, your country, and your God.
See there the foe, who, proud of discipline
And military art, has dar'd to doubt
Your courage, O Columbians ! But nor fear, 380
Nor tremble at his threats ; such potent aid
Have you in Freedom, come by Heaven's high will
Herself to join your cause. Then hear her voice,
Be arm'd with terrour, and repel the foe."

379. *has dar'd to doubt &c.*—"European philosophers had published theories, setting forth that not only vegetables and beasts, but that even men degenerated in the western hemisphere," &c. *Ramsay*, i. 193 ; ii. 33. But compare gen. Conway's speech, Nov. 1775, *Almon*, iii. 201.

She said, and breath'd such ardour in their breasts,
That they scarce waited till the hostile files 386
Had reach'd the intrenchments; when no signal
given,
Such streams of sulphurous fire pour'd from the
mount,
That their astonish'd ranks felt, in full force,
The present Deity. Confusion saw, 390
And urg'd their staggering columns, while Dismay,
And Flight, and Death, with vast gigantick strides,
Strew'd with the dead, and dying all the hill.
As when Vesuvius' subterranean wind
Pours from its yawning crater on mankind 395
Its fiery horrors, while the pitchy smoke
In vast successive columns veils the sun,
And trembling man flies from the redden'd gloom
To seek his safety in the distant plains;
So fled the British squadrons from the fire 400
Of Bunker's terrors; art, and discipline
Yielded to artless valour; but their chief,
Brave in an odious cause, and urg'd by shame,
Flew thro' the broken ranks with eagle speed, 404
And thus exclaim'd; "For shame, ye Veterans!
Where are those boastful threats, that discipline
On which you vaunted to subdue the foe
At the first onset? Where is gone your fame,
Your British valour? See those raw recruits
Mock all your skill; those daring rebels laugh 410
At all your efforts, and despise your fame!
Where would you fly? Your distant homes refuse

To give you shelter. Haste then, back return,
Revenge your dying comrades." Thus he said,
And Shame led back the troops, while Discipline 415
March'd thro' the columns, and renew'd the war.
But all were vain, had not the Prince of Hell,
Pondering the leaves of Fate, too quick perceiv'd
The cause of British woe; for now his eye
Had reach'd the page where fated Warren's name,
Slowly vanescent, o'er the book of life 421
Cast a dim shadow; gladden'd at the sight
Instant to Death he cried; "My Son, my Son!
The hard-fought day is ours; see here the name
Of Warren vanishes; lift then thy dart, 425
Poise it with fate, and lodge it in his breast."
Soon as 't was said, 't was done; Death pois'd his dart,
And sped it, fated, to the Hero's breast.
Columbia long shall mourn him, for he liv'd
A life of virtue, and he met his fate, 430
As a true patriot, on honour's bed:
A Hampden liv'd, a Hampden died the chief.
Meanwhile had Gage with penetrating eye
Observ'd the yielding columns, and thus spake

432. *A Hampden liv'd, &c.*—Dr. Warren (whom lord Shelburne calls "a very great man," *Atmon*, v. 273.) fell at the battle of Bunker's hill, just after the provincials began their retreat from the breastwork. "To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman.—Within four days after he was appointed a major-general, he fell a noble sacrifice to a cause which he had espoused from the purest principles. Like Hampden he lived, and like Hampden he died, universally beloved, and universally regretted." *Ramsay*, i. 205.

To his great soul ; " Surely our ministers 435
 Some demon hath deceiv'd, that they should stamp
 Such men as these with dastard cowardice.
 O that themselves were witness of those deeds
 Which even British veterans scarce withstand
 Led by the valiant Howe ! But 't is no time 440
 For thought, but action ; Clinton ! Take fresh troops,

437. *with dastard cowardice.*—Compare above, ver. 379 ; and book iv. ver. 345. The infatuation of the ministry upon this subject surpassed all bounds. Lord Sandwich observes ; " Suppose the colonies do abound with men, what does that signify ? they are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish instead of 40 or 50,000 of these brave fellows, they would produce in the field, at least 200,000, *the more, the better, the easier would be the conquest* ;—Believe me, my lords, the very sound of a cannon would carry them off as fast as their feet would carry them.—This is *too trifling* a part of the argument, to detain your lordships any longer." *Almon*, ii. 89-90. Col. Barré's answer to this vaporous effusion is excellent ; " As to cowards, they were certainly the greatest to his knowledge ; for the 47th regiment of foot, which behaved so gallantly at Bunker's hill, (an engagement that smacked more of defeat than victory,)—the very corps that broke the whole French column, and threw them into such disorder, at the siege of Quebec, *was three parts composed of these cowards.*" *Almon*, iii, 40. See also the duke of Richmond's speech, v. 14 ; and lord North's, (an. 1778.) viii. 383. " To a mind," said gov. Johnstone, " who loves to contemplate the glorious spirit of Freedom, no spectacle can be more affecting than the action at Bunker's hill. To see an irregular peasantry commanded by a physician ; inferior in number ; opposed by every circumstance of cannon and bombs, that could terrify timid minds, calmly waiting the attack of the gallant Howe, leading on the best troops in the world, with an excellent train of artillery, and twice repulsing those very troops, who had often chased the chosen battalions of France, and at last retiring for want of ammunition, but in so respectable a manner, that they were not even pursued ; who can reflect upon such scenes, and not adore the constitution of government which could breed such men ? Who will not pause and examine before he destroys institutions that have reared such elevated spirits ? Who is there that can dismiss all doubts on the justice of a cause, which can inspire such conscious rectitude ?" &c. *Almon*, iii. 25.

Instant relieve the chief, or all is lost."

Thus spake the prudent Gage, and Clinton heard,
Nor disobey'd his voice, but instant rush'd
Impetuous to the field, to aid his friends. 445

And now, with difficulty, scarce, at length,
The many, fresh, and disciplin'd repell'd
The raw, undisciplin'd, exhausted, few,
From their proud post ; but such was Heaven's will,
For 't is by labour only, and much toil 450

That Nature grants her richest gifts to man.
Nor could the vanquish'd victors boast their deeds,
Those deeds by which their number'd dead sur-
pass'd

Their foe's thrice told ; and countless miseries,
In their worst form, were pour'd upon mankind. 455



WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK VI.

ARGUMENT OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

Invocation to Liberty. French Revolution. Character of Washington. His speech to his Chiefs. Orders to General Gage. Sir H. Clinton's speech to Arnold. Arnold's reply, and subsequent deeds. Success of Lord Cornwallis, and other British Chiefs.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

HAIL, holy Spirit! Celestial Freedom, hail!
Thou with the Eternal fixest thy abode,
And with thy Sisters, Truth, and Virtue, knit
Play'st round the throne of light thy gambols pure.
Or if right Reason's name delight thee more, 5
Thus will I thee invoke to aid my song,
Which, leaving lesser orbs, through desert space
Wings its bold flight up to the orb of day.
Hail, holy Spirit, hail! Thou who wert wont
To quit thy blest abode to dwell with men; 10
Whom Athens saw within her sacred walls,
And ancient Rome ador'd; whom Britain oft,
Like a fond mother cherish'd in her arms;
And thence as oft, by Asiatick wealth
Corrupt, far banish'd, once again descend, 15
And buoy my feeble pinions while I soar
Above all mortal ken, and sing of deeds
So far excelling human intellect
That man could scarce believe the facts man saw.

'Thee, purest Essence ! even Gallia once, 20
 But once, and for one momentary space
 Shall see, but 'reft of reason at the sight
 Shall not discern thy worth, but in thy stead
 Adore an Idol, that thy shape assumes
 Too oft, and rides triumphant o'er mankind. 25
 But Gallia long had groan'd beneath the weight
 Of haughty despots ; long her rights, and laws,
 Been trampled down beneath oppression's hoof ;
 Justice was sold by law ; the nobles liv'd,
 As if a race superiour to the rest, 30
 Exempt from various burthens that oppress'd
 The suffering people ; but what most of all
 Her vengeance rous'd, was that extravagance
 With which her rulers delug'd all the land.
 'Tis this extravagance, which, soon or late, 35
 Brings kings and kingdoms to untimely end.
 This not all Turgot's virtues could reform ;
 Turgot that wise, that able minister,
 Whom Gallia's Genius with her wonted care
 Sent to restore her rights, but sent in vain ; 40

35. *'Tis this extravagance*,—"The expences," said Mr. Burke, an. 1774, "are beyond all measure ruinous ; I have pretty good authority for saying, that the king (of France) draws after him a personal expence of between three and four millions sterling ; and this is an article so rooted and so vicious in its principles, that no act of the ministers can either lessen or controul it." *Debrett*, vii. 266. See *Belsham*, iv. 302—4. 182—5. 273-4.

"The expensiveness of the government is the true ground of the oppression of the people." *Life of W.* v. 600.

38. *Turgot*—"An excellent and able minister, the zealous friend of peace and economy, of toleration and reform," &c. See note in *Belsham*, ii. 214 ; and *his Life written by Condorcet*.

For now Profusion with her bandag'd eyes,
 And open hand, stalk'd with gigantick strides
 Thro' all the land, and in her train were seen,
 Extortion, Tribute, Bribery, and Fraud,
 With false Imprisonment, and Espionage, 45
 And Irreligion, and gaunt Poverty.
 And not far off from these the eye beheld
 The female Passions at the helm of state,
 And Prostitution, with such numerous ills
 As would require ten tongues to utter them. 50
 But last of all was seen a monster-form
 Whose sanguine hands fill'd with the heads of men
 Spread horror round, her eyes so gor'd with blood
 That she could scarce distinguish friend from foe,
 Gigantick Vengeance; and with her was seen 55
 False Liberty, whose wanton, lawless gait,
 And Circe tongue, allur'd the ignorant,
 But kept the wise far off. How different this
 From that celestial Form, whose radiant head

48. *The female Passions*—"The hameau de Chantilly was once the hotel, and gardens of the celebrated madame de Pompadour, mistress to Louis the Fifteenth; one who contributed in no small degree to bring on that revolution, which ended in the total overthrow of the house of her royal lover. No king's mistress was perhaps ever more cordially hated than this lady: her profusion knew no bounds, no one ever mingled more deeply in state intrigues, and no one ever contributed more liberally to filling the cachots of the detestable Bastille. Who can read the narrative of her devoted victim the unfortunate Maseres de la Tude, and then think that no change was wanted in France? One should rather be astonished at the patience which had endured oppression so long."—*An unpublished Narrative of a Three Years Residence in France, in 1802, 3, 4, by Anne Plumptre, chap. xiii.*

Scatters the beams of virtue o'er mankind ; 60
Whose modest gait, and dignified address
Win so on every heart, that to adore
Is but to know ! Where-e'er she place her feet
Spontaneous earth emits its flowery sweets,
And e'en the barren rock with verdure smiles ; 65
Where-e'er she breathe, empyreal odours waft
Ambrosial gales, and all is joy, and love.
Come then, Celestial Freedom ! and with thee
Bring peace, and plenty, and good will to men ;
And drive far off from pure Columbia's soil 70
That blood-gorg'd crew, curs'd with the human shape,
Those monster-men of old Corruption born
And long-establish'd Crime, and black Revenge ;
Of whom were some sprung from their mother Sin
Close by the gates of hell, and call'd on earth, 75
Barrere, and Danton, Robespierre, Marat,
Tainville, and Samson, d'Herbois, Carriere,
Fouche, Hebert, Orleans, and ten thousand more,
Whose names the deep oblivious pool would whelm,
But that the truth of history must record 80
That future men may curse, and future kings
Beware profusion, and those ministers
Whose tinsel eloquence beguiles the ear,
But reaches not the heart ; 'gainst such as these
Kings cannot be too guarded ; and with them 85

78. *ten thousand more*,—Among these the readers of the History of the French Revolution will easily recognise Frey-
ron, Tallien, Couthon, St. Just, Dumas, Le Bas, Henriot,
Legendre, Mengaud, Rapinat, &c. &c.

False prophets may be join'd, who to subserve
 Vile temporary purposes, rave out
 Their bugbear bedings to their prince's ears.
 Thus rooks, and daws, and chattering magpies prate
 Their noisy terrors to the bird of day. 90

But soft, my Muse! where speedest thou thy flight?
 Thy theme is freedom, and Columbia's son;
 But on the sacred tripod when thou sit'st,
 Like a Dodonian Priestess, heaven-enrapt,
 Thou pour'st prophetick truths, and blend'st the
 past 95

And future time, unheeding consequence.
 But come, Celestial Spirit! again descend,
 And say, for best thou canst, what happy spot
 First gave thy loved son to see the light?
 'Twas pure Virginia's soil, thrice happy soil! 100
 That one blest moment shall thy griefs repay,
 And to remotest ages hand thy name;
 Yes! all thy woes shall, like the stars of morn,
 Sink in the brighter blaze of risen day.
 And thou, blest Seraph! from that bright abode 105

86. *False prophets*—See a specimen of these prophecies respecting the fate of American Independence in *Ramsay*, i. 314-5. The record of their existence would be—"that a sickle people, impatient of the restraints of regular government, had in a fit of passion abolished that of Great Britain, and established—constitutions of their own—which from want of wisdom—were no sooner formed than annihilated. The leading men—hanged—Washington, worthy of a better fate, deserted by his army, abandoned by his country, rushing on the thickest battalions of the foe—to escape an ignominious death."

Some of the late bedings of Mr. Burke may also be had in remembrance.

Where midst the Cherubim thou sit'st enthron'd,
 And supplicatest mercy o'er the sins
 Of us thy fellows once; Oh! deign to lend
 Thy gracious hearing to my 'raptur'd song,
 That with no hireling flight directs its course 110
 To truth, and virtue, liberty, and thee.
 Thee bounteous heaven in mercy to mankind
 Sent down to aid their cause, and for their sakes
 Arm'd thee with every virtue that could serve
 Its destin'd purpose. Meek humanity 115
 Claim'd thee in chief; for thy benevolence
 Shone like the orb of night in middle course
 Perfect and full: thou the poor Indian taught'st
 To love the works of peace, and cultivate
 All-bounteous mother earth: the prisoner 120
 Amidst his chains and dungeons turn'd to thee
 His earthly guardian: (nor can Pity's hand
 Bestow a sweeter balm to alleviate
 The mad, unnatural misery of war,
 Than that the prisoner's rigours should receive 125
 Some soothing aid, and comfort: who is he

118. *the poor Indian taught'st*—See *Life of W.* v. 377.

120. *the prisoner*—The sufferings of the American prisoners were considerably aggravated by the circumstance of their being looked upon as rebels, and in some instances exceed almost belief. The reader may consult *Appendix*, No. iii. p. 281, vol. ii. of *Ramsay*; and *Life of W.* iii. 456—66, where he will see how well Washington merits the character given him in the text. The earl of Abingdon is "very severe upon the "savage barbarity," the "damning proofs of inhumanity," with which the American prisoners were treated. See *Almon*, x. 105. So is the earl of Shelburne, *Ib.* 98-9. Eleven thousand prisoners are said to have died on board the Jersey prison ship. *Ramsay*, ii. 285.

That sees his fellow-man, who just before
 Had in his country's cause not spar'd his blood,
 Now cold, and naked, in a dungeon laid
 Far from his native home, no wife, no son, 130
 No fond parental care to sooth his woes ;
 Who sees such misery, nor sheds the tear
 Of sympathetick feeling, must be one
 Whom nature owns not ; harden'd policy
 With calculating visage, that disclaims 135
 Nature's best ordinances, may perhaps
 Have found such wretch ; struggling humanity
 Nor knows nor loves him.) When brutality
 With rape and rapine, cruelty, and vice
 Scourg'd thy afflicted country, thy pure soul 140
 Knew not retaliation, but return'd,
 As thy blest Saviour bid, for evil good ;
 For far the brightest ray within that crown
 Which harmless play'd around thy god-like head
 Was that thou lovedst mercy, mercy thee. 145
 But when Necessity with iron hand
 Arm'd thee to battle in thy country's cause,
 And in the cause of justice, truth, and right,
 Then thy awaken'd wrath, in terrour clad,

139. *With rape and rapine*.—The abominations of the Hessians are described by *Ramsay*, i. 324-5. But the endeavours of Washington to prevent retaliation in all cases, except "those of absolute necessity," are recorded in his own letters to Congress. See *Life of W.* iii. 29. Compare *Ramsay*, i. 108-9.

149. *in terrour clad*, &c.—Of Washington's personal bravery there are many instances. See *Ramsay*, i. 307. 323; *Life of W.* iii. 513-4; but the battle of Trenton surpassed

Was almost arm'd with more than mortal might, 150
 And Trenton's walls, where first thy uplifted arm
 Turn'd the dread tide of victory on thy foes,
 And rais'd Columbia from untimely grave,
 Attest thy valour, and thy well-earn'd fame.
 Nor yet had subtlety, nor fraudulent arts 155
 Advantage over thee; thy god-like mind
 By prejudice, and passion unsubdued
 Pierc'd thro' the obscure, and kenn'd the distant
 light.
 E'en power, that bane of every earthly good,
 Which robs man of his senses, and impels 160
 To enslave his fellow-mortal, was to thee
 The path to peace and love; and tho' the head
 Of armed heroes, yet the citizen

every action in the war. "Nothing could surpass the astonishment of the enemy at this unexpected display of vigour on the part of the American general. His condition and that of his country had been thought desperate; but this bold and fortunate enterprise announced to the British general, that he had to contend with an adversary who could never cease to be formidable, so long as the possibility of resistance remained." *Life of W.* ii. 619-20. Lord George Germaine allowed "that, had it not been for the unforeseen misfortune of Trenton, there was every reason to believe that the campaign would have been decisive." *Almon*, viii. 21-2.

155. *Nor yet had subtlety, &c.*—See *Life of W.* iii. 132. 261, 262; and *Ramsay*, i. 217-8.

163. *yet the citizen &c.*—"As to the fatal; but necessary operations of war," said general Washington, "when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen, and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the re-establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful and happy country." *Ramsay*, i. 220. "The passionate love of glory, how much soever excused as the infirmity of noble minds,

Was never in the soldier once forgot:
 Thy proudest aim was freedom; and the wish 165
 Nearest thy heart, that freedom to attain
 By bloodless victory. Thy spotless mind
 Humane, and wise, left to thy country's foes
 To speed the work of death; thy own blest part,
 As far as in thee lay, was to disarm 170
 War of its horrors, and 'bove all that war
 Where brethren clash with brethren, friends with
 friends.

The man whose bosom such dread scenes delight
 Is lost to every blessing heaven bestows
 To comfort men on earth; nor joy, nor love 175
 Ever consol'd his breast, but all is void
 And dark, save where the passions of the brute
 Exert their furious sway. Such dreadful scenes
 Thou, hero! strov'st as far as man could strive,
 To banish from thy country, and thus spake, 180
 Amid the assembled chiefs, thy generous soul;
 "Ye noble Chiefs! Columbia's joy, and hope!
 Full well ye know how much I deprecate

might have led him into hazardous enterprises, and have finally terminated in the vulgar ambition of acquiring uncontrolled power, and dazzling title. He became truly great by indifference to greatness; and best provided for the perpetuity of an honourable fame, by regarding fame as subordinate to duty. What a lesson to those in high stations, who have hearts and understandings to receive it!" *Dedication to Life of W.* vii-viii; see *Pres.* xiii-xiv; ii. 303, note, 613. Upon the "duty of the citizen being paramount to that of the soldier," see the hon. Temple Luttrell's speech, *Almon*, iv. 135; and the duke of Richmond's, x. 43-4.

That sad necessity which urges us
 To have recourse to arms ; but well ye know 185
 How fruitless all endeavours on our part
 To stop the effusion of the blood of men.
 Or peace and chains, or liberty and war,
 These are our only choice ; shall it be said
 Columbia hesitated ? No ! Ye Chiefs ! 190
 Columbia's free-born soul ne'er yet betray'd
 The rights of man, nor ordinance of God.
 O that our foes were with such sentiments
 Deeply impress'd ! But heaven hath steel'd their
 hearts
 To invade those rights of others, which them-
 selves 195
 Would, if invaded, guard with their last blood.
 But all will turn to good ; our foes now feel
 How little either force, or art avails.
 See where the generous Salem spurns their boon ;

184. *That sad necessity &c.*—Compare *Ramsay*, i. 335.
 “ We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.” *Ramsay*, i. 211-2. 310. See *Life of W.* ii. 287-8. 329-30. 502—5—8.

195. *those rights of others, &c.*—“ Arguments (respecting the right to tax America) which would have appeared so conclusive to Englishmen, if urged by themselves in support of their own rights, had but little weight when used to disprove the existence of their authority over others.” See *Life of W.* ii. 134. 220. 242, note.

199. *generous Salem &c.*—“ It was a part of the artful and malignant plan of the British ministers in framing the Boston Port Bill, by removing the commerce of that metropolis to

See where her rival frustrates their proud hopes ; 200
 Even the untutor'd Indian scorns their gold,
 And with his neighbour smokes the pipe of peace.
 Thus have they fail'd by bribery, and art,
 To gain their purpose. Not e'en Canada,

Salem, and making it the seat of government, to establish a rivalry and enmity between these two places, from which they hoped to derive mighty advantages." But this was prevented by the magnanimous spirit of the people of Salem, who concluded their address to the governor in these words; "We must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours." *Belsham*, ii. 73-4; and *Encyclop. Brit.* art. *America*, sect. 169; *Life of W.* ii. 202; *Ramsay*, i. 124. See 171. See the Minute of the Treasury Board, Mar. 31, 1774, *Almon*, i. 34.

200. *her rival*—The magnanimity of the people of Marblehead; a port in the vicinity of Boston, deserves equal praise. These patriots "generously offered the merchants of Boston the use of their harbours, as well as their wharfs and warehouses, free of all expense." *Belsham*, ii. 74; and *Encyclop. Ib.* 176; *Life of W.* ii. 230.

201. *Indian scorns their gold*,—The reply of some Indian chiefs to the agents who were sent to corrupt them, affords a noble lesson to civilized nations. "They did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America, or on the other side of the ocean were in fault: but they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another; and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of their brethren." *Encyclop. Ib.* 196. It would have been happy if the rest of the Indian tribes had imbibed these sentiments! The Indians, indeed, on the Muskingum "abhorred war, and would take no part therein, giving for reason that 'the great Being did not make men to destroy men, but to love and assist each other.'" *Ramsay*, ii. 149. Compare lord Shelburne's speech, an. 1775, *Almon*, v. 71.

204. *Not e'en Canada*,—"So sanguine were the hopes of administration in this respect, that they had sent 20,000 stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores, to Quebec for the purpose." *Encyclop. Brit. Ib.* 195. But the militia of the province refused to pass the limits of it. See *Belsham*, ii. 152-3; and *Life of W.* ii. 267, note. Compare col. Barré's

Already half their own, will join their cause. 205
 And now their only hopes to obtain success
 Are fix'd on our dissensions, and those evils
 Which civil wars engender. Foolish men!
 To think that any evil, even death,
 Is, to the virtuous mind, to be compar'd 210
 With loss of freedom! If Columbia's sons
 Dissent among themselves, will that dissent
 Lead them to join her foe? Perish the thought!
 Sooner shall proud Ohio, which now rolls
 Thro' boundless deserts its gigantick waves 215
 Into astonish'd ocean; sooner this
 Shall break the laws of nature, and up-flow
 Back to its source divine;" (instant the chiefs
 Bursting the listening silence swore assent;)
 "Thus have they fail'd; thus may they ever fail,
 By base intrigue, and art to gain their cause! 221

speech, *Almon*, iii. 39, who mentions that the "Canadians had concealed 400 firelocks in the woods, which they were determined to make use of against the English, if they forced them to take either side."

207. *our dissensions, &c.*—Compare *Ramsay*, i. 120. 144-5. Upon the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, "sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government—to pardon all their past offences—to have the pay due to them from the Congress faithfully made up, &c.—but the faithful though revolting soldier disdained his offers." *Id.* ii. 220. See lord Camden's speech, an. 1775, *Almon*, ii. 85-6. "Equally fruitless," said lord Shelburne, "had all attempts to divide the colonies hitherto proved. America felt her strength only in proportion to her union; and the little paltry policy to multiply jealousies and create divisions, by guarding the colonies against insidiousness, had strengthened instead of weakening the great cement of union." v. 71. See Burke's speech, an. 1777, *Almon*, viii. 101-2.

Nor yet by force will the Almighty Power
 Grant them success ; for Heaven's the friend of man,
 Blest him with life, and health, nor will permit
 That which is dearer far than health, or life, 225
 The iron arm of power to take away.
 But tho' thus aided by the heavenly will,
 Still of our own exertions have we need ;
 For Heaven smiles not on the indolent,
 Nor him who self-forgetting trusts in prayer ; 230
 'Tis industry alone that Heaven befriends,
 Him who reveres himself, and dreads to lose
 The first, best, gift of God to new-born man.
 And may such dread, such reverence, ye Chiefs !
 Now firmly hold your breasts ; for while I speak,
 The daring foe has form'd the desperate plan 235
 From north and south in one combin'd attack
 To pour upon us, as a winter's flood,
 His numerous battalions. 'Tis his view
 Thus to distract our counsels, thus revive 240
 The hopes of traitors ; but abandon fear,
 The more they separate, the easier far
 'Tis to subdue them. Gates ! to thy tried skill
 I trust the north, there on the Hudson stream

242. *The more they separate, &c.*—"There was a radical error," said Mr. Fox, "in the proceedings, which would for ever prevent our generals from acting with success ;—no man of sense would have placed the two armies in such a position as from their distance made it impossible that one should receive any assistance from the other." *Almon*, viii. 19 ; and ix. 73. See lord Shelburne's speech, x. 22. 127 ; duke of Richmond's, x. 40 ; lord Chatham's, *Id.* 74.

Of Bargoyné's expedition, see an account in the *Life of W.* iii. 240-1.

Marshall'd by Burgoyne wilt thou meet the foe. 245
 But mark my words; be sparing of their blood;
 They are our kin, of the same parents born,
 Sprung from the self-same God, and time will come
 When those delusive vapours, which obscure
 Their mental ray, will vanish into air, 250
 And they as eager fly to meet our love,
 As now they urge our hate: spare then their blood;
 Let thy superiour wisdom then blaze forth
 In all its wonted glory. When their troops,
 O'ercome by all those evils that await 255
 Their lengthen'd march thro' Hudson's rocky straits,
 Reach Saratoga's plains, instant do thou
 Cut off retreat; inclose their harass'd files;
 And when gaunt Famine with her meagre jaws
 Stares them in front, and they lay down their arms,
 Spare then their feelings, see not thou the deed. 261
 Thus will you show the future race of men
 How far superiour wisdom is to force,
 And Freedom to her foes. Thus will you teach
 The lesson of forbearance, and of love, 265
 E'en to our enemy. O that it take
 Such deepen'd root within his haughty breast
 That he relent, and persecute no more!

261. *see not thou the deed.*—Upon the capitulation of Saratoga, "general Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp, while the British soldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles of so melancholy an event." *Encyclop. Brit. art. Amer. sect. 302; Belsham, ii. 320. See Ramsay, ii. 54.*

Haste then, begone ; and when thy work is done,
Rejoin our force. I, meanwhile, to the south 270
To observe Cornwallis, and may Heaven's will
Guide all my counsels and direct my ways !”

Thus spake the pious Chief, and prudent Gates
Obey'd superiour prudence. O that man
Would ever thus reflect how dear is life 275
Unto his fellow-man, whose fleeting soul
When once it pass his lips, not all the gold
Of east, or western Ind ; not all the power
Of all the proudest potentates on earth ;—
Not all the skill of wisdom's favour'd sons, 280
Can for one momentary space recal
Back to its pristine seat. O then that man
Would ever ponder deeply in his breast,
Before his hand unheeded take away
That which the Maker only can bestow ! 285
If, ere the blow was aim'd, a voice were heard
To exclaim ; “ It is your brother ;” terrour-struck,
Would not the palmy blade shrink from the grasp,
And fall unstain'd ? But are not all men kin ?
What then is war but murderous fratricide ? 290
War is not justified but to defend
Our rights, our laws, our freedom, and our God.

Meanwhile the British Clinton just return'd
From captur'd Charleston, and its vanquish'd Chief,
And now expectant of support had taken 295

294. *captur'd Charleston, &c.*—General Lincoln surrendered Charleston to sir Henry Clinton and the British forces, May 1780. *Ramsay*, ii. 155.

Columbia's middle station, and there watch'd
 With keenest vigilance his wary foe,
 No sooner had the expected aid receiv'd
 Than as a Giant, from long sleep refresh'd,
 Stretches his mighty limbs, and proud of strength
 Rouses himself to action, so the chief 301
 Pants for new glory in the field of blood,
 And thus to Arnold pours his rising wrath ;
 " Brave, injur'd Chief! thou whose transcendent
 worth

Thy ingrate country spurns, whose virtuous pride
 Disdains to bow before an upstart race 306
 Of lawless rebels; but who wiser chooseth
 The path of loyalty, and just, and right,
 Now show thy great pre-eminence; take, lead
 Our choicest troops to victory; pour forth 310
 Thy ample vengeance on thy ingrate foes;
 Remember André's blood; and let that name
 Which mid Canadian swamps, and woods, and rocks,
 Thy fortitude, and perseverance gain'd,
 Still be thy own; Columbian Hannibal 315
 Spares not his Romans; let Virginia,
 Where curs'd rebellion lifts her proudest head,

296. *Columbia's middle station, &c.*—Among other reinforcements which sir Henry Clinton had received at New York, was a body of 3000 Germans. *Ramsay*, ii. 265.

303. *Arnold*—The reader may compare *Ramsay*, ii. 195.

315. *Columbian Hannibal*—Arnold had acquired the name of the American Hannibal by his arduous expedition into Canada. *Ramsay*, i. 235.

316. *let Virginia, &c.*—See *Ramsay*, ii. 225-6; *Life of W.* iv. 447. 485.

Both know, and feel that Arnold is her foe.
 That being done, for nothing can thy arm
 Long time withstand, thence on Connecticut 320
 thy resistless torrent; fire, and sword
 clear the way before thee, and perchance
 our of thy mighty name, and deeds
 recall our foe, and give to thee
 and the meed to thwart his plans." 325
 Clinton spoke, and Arnold thus replied;
 be mine! By this right hand I swear
 ne'er shall tarnish that great name
 rest perils, at the risk
 war to man, he hardly earn'd. 330
 and murder calls aloud on me,
 vengeance; be it then reveng'd.
 Not let the Indian tomahawk be spar'd,
 Unearth their hatchet, let the war-whoop sound
 From the dread Mohawks, and the Genessees, 335
 To where beneath the Alleghany snows
 The murderous Creeks, and Chactaws feast on blood,
 Sparing nor youth, nor sex; and since our foe

320. on Connecticut—See *Life of W.* iv. 532.

332. be it then reveng'd.—"Arnold declared, in a letter to Washington, that if André suffered, he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also observed that forty of the principal inhabitants of South-Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been spared only through the clemency of sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy if major André suffered; an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." *Ramsay*, ii. 200.

338. Sparing nor youth, &c.—Of the horrible cruelties committed by the Indians, the reader may see an account in *Ramsay*, ii. chap. xviii. and p. 87.

Clamours of freedom, and the rights of men,
 Set free the slaves, give them their natural rights,
 They too are men, and place but in their hands 341
 The arms of men, and they to Washington
 Will prove their manliness: but lest perchance
 Some generous Chief, some Carleton, some Mac-
 bride,

340. *Set free the slaves*.—Lord Dunmore “had declared, all indented servants, negroes, and others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his majesty’s forces, to be free.” *Ramsay*, i. 249. See 252; and ii. 172; *Life of W.* ii. 442. Compare Mr. Burke’s speech, Feb. 1778, *Almon*, viii. 351.

344. *some Carleton*.—“Of the Indians in his service general Carleton had made a very sparing use, and at the end of the campaign they were dismissed on a general promise of returning when called for. But it was believed that he had, in his dispatches to England, strongly remonstrated against the employment of savages in any shape whatever in the further prosecution of this war.” *Belsham*, ii. 308.

“The reputation acquired by general Carleton in his military character—was exceeded by the superior applause, merited from his exercise of the virtues of humanity and generosity—he not only fed and clothed them (the sick left in the American hospitals in Canada) but permitted them when recovered to return home. Apprehending that fear might make some conceal themselves in the woods, rather than, by applying for relief, make themselves known, he removed their doubts by a proclamation, in which he engaged, that as soon as their health was restored, they should have free liberty of returning to their respective provinces, &c.” *Ramsay*, i. 269. See ii. 282. 290; *Life of W.* ii. 427. See lord Shelburne’s speech, Nov. 1777, *Almon*, x. 23.

344. *some Macbride*.—In the naval battle of Rodney and Langara, near Cape St. Vincent, July 1780, the Spanish admiral in the *Phoenix* struck to captain Macbride of the *Bienfaisant*, whose crew was afflicted with a malignant small-pox. The captain, “disdaining to convey infection even to an enemy—offered to permit the Spanish prisoners to stay on board the *Phoenix*, rather than by a removal to expose them to the small-pox, trusting to the admiral’s honour, that no advantage would be taken of the circumstance. The proposal

Some lenient Campbell, too humane, and weak, 345
 Should by an ill-tim'd mercy thwart our plans,
 them that mercy to rebellious men
 "eventual cruelty ; and guilt
 punish'd saves the innocent.
 not war alone on which to place 350
 "st trust, and confidence ; see where
 "ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-cloth'd, worse arm'd,
 "utiny, and only wait
 "en from hence. Their very chiefs
 "ternal, and internal ills, 355
 "substance spent, and all their hopes
 when Britain with parental arms

was cheerfully embraced, and the conditions honourably observed." *Ramsay*, ii. 206.

345. *lenient Campbell*.—The moderation, prudence, and humanity of the British colonel Campbell, in the southern states, are mentioned by the American historian with the highest approbation. See *Ramsay*, ii. 98. 287-8 ; *Life of W.* iv. 65-6.

348. *Is but eventual cruelty* ;—"The zeal of the British ministers for reducing the revolted colonies was so violent, as to make them, in their excessive wrath, forget that their adversaries were men. They contended that in their circumstances every appearance of lenity, by inciting to disobedience, and thereby increasing the objects of punishment, was eventual cruelty. In their opinion, partial severity was general mercy, and the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion was to envelop its abettors in such complicated distress, as by rendering their situation intolerable, would make them willing to accept the proffered blessings of peace and security." *Ramsay*, ii. 26. See 102. 232. 273. 276. A proclamation of sir George Collier and governor Tryon declared "the existence of a single house on the coast to be a striking monument of British mercy." *Belsham*, ii. 405-6.

354. *The signal given from hence*. See the tempting offers of general Arnold to "unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support themselves from their own resources, &c." *Ramsay*, ii. 203-4.

Offers a parent's love, and grants redress,
 Their wants, their hopes, their fears, their loyalty,
 Smother'd but not extinguish'd, shall incite 360
 Compliance, and they willing shall return
 To meet your proffer'd love with open arms.
 This then is my advice; let no address,
 That either art, or artifice can frame,
 Be wanting; and, if Clinton give consent, 365
 Arnold will instant tempt their chiefs, and men
 With specious reason, and more solid bribe,
 Thus shall be wove a double net to ensnare
 Yon haughty rebel, and his starving troops."

Thus spake the wrath of Arnold, and to him 370
 Again the British Chief; " Brave Veteran!
 Whether thy wisdom, or thy valour more
 Merits applause, is difficult for us
 Rightly to judge, since both in equal poise
 Are thus so nicely balanc'd: but no more 375
 Of words, lest thus perchance the publick weal
 Even ourselves may injure; now to deeds;
 Thou to the post assign'd, and if aught else
 Thy genius may invent to harm the foe
 Be both the merit, and reward thy own." 380
 They ended parle, and haughty Arnold's soul
 Bent on a double vengeance, sped his flight
 To where Virginia, scarce from Leslie's arm

388. *scarce from Leslie's arm &c.*—Major-general Leslie had been detached from New-York to the Chesapeak with 2000 men, in order to favour lord Cornwallis's designs on the southern states: and after his departure Virginia was again invaded by general Arnold. See *Ramsay*, i. 226.

Recover'd, new was fated to sustain
 Havock, and misery to which compar'd 365
 Its former ills were but a sport and play.

Meantime Cornwallis in the southern clime
 Had met no equal; distant Georgia
 Own'd him supreme; while thro' the Carolinas
 His proud victorious troops swept all along 390
 Like a resistless torrent; even Gates
 When, proud of victory, he dusted back
 His lengthen'd march from Saratoga's straits,
 And fondly hop'd the terror of his name
 Would check his mighty foe, too soon perceiv'd 395
 His fatal error, and on Camden's plains
 Gave a fresh chaplet to his rival's brow.
 There, brave de Kalb! was shorn thy fated thread;
 Columbia long did mourn thee as her own;
 Thou fought'st for freedom, and for freedom diedst.
 Nor Gates alone felt the resistless arm 401
 Of conquering Britons: see where laurell'd Greene,
 Freedom's high-favour'd son, Columbia's prop,
 Yields to superiour Rawdon; Camden's plains
 Witness Columbia's second overthrow. 405
 Here dauntless Tarleton, like Mygdonides,

369. *while thro' the Carolinas &c.*—The people had for a time “abandoned all schemes of further resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, Ninety-six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. —This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered, &c.” *Ramsay*, li. 159. See 170.

398. *brave de Kalb!*—See above, b. i. ver. 310.

405. *second overthrow.*—See above, b. i. ver. 317.

406. *Tarleton, like Mygdonides, &c.*—*Choræbus*, the son of

Cloth'd in the hostile garb, and ornament,
 Entraps his foe; there with an eagle's stoop
 Pounces destruction upon Sumter's force;
 While daring Prevost, Maitland, and Moncrief 410
 Had vanquish'd D'Estaing, and Pulaski's might.
 Here Simcoe, able partisan, repell'd
 The valiant Steuben, and with fire, and sword
 Spread ruin: there the noble Phillips brav'd
 La Fayette's haughty spirit, who saw with grief 415
 Desertion thinning his impatient troops:
 While, further off, the British Diomed.

Mygdon, who was the brother of Hecuba (see *Æn.* ii. 342. 389) had, with his followers, put on the armour of the Greeks whom he had killed at the storming of Troy; and in like manner colonel Tarleton with a party had assumed the name and dress of Americans, and passed themselves for the advance of general Gates's army. See *Ramsay*, ii. 165-6. Colonel Tarleton surprised Sumter's corps at Fishing Creek—"and the whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed." *Id.* 169.

411. *D'Estaing, and Pulaski*—By the assistance of that able engineer major Moncrief, general Prevost and colonel Maitland successfully defended the town of Savannah against the counts d'Estaing, and Pulaski, and general Lincoln: *Ramsay*, ii. 121-2.

412. *Here Simcoe*,—Colonel Simcoe was said to be "one of the best partisans in the British service." *Life of W.* iii. 475; iv. 447-8. For an account of the expedition against Steuben at a place called The Fork, see *Id.* iv. 491.

414. *the noble Phillips &c.*—The marquis de la Fayette was obliged to retreat before generals Phillips and Cornwallis. *Ramsay*, ii. 256-7. See *Life of W.* iv. 486. Desertion had become so frequent in La Fayette's army as to threaten its dissolution. *Life of W.* iv. 481.

417. *the British Diomed &c.*—General Grey, who had acquired the name of the "no-flint general," had surprised colonel Baylor's regiment of light dragoons in a barn while they were in a profound sleep. The British troops, "refusing to give quarter, bayoneted for a time all they fell in with." About 40 were made prisoners. "These were indebted for their

Gave to his sleeping foes the dreams of death.
 Last, tho' not least, the fierce St. Leger rav'd
 With Johnson's savages, and those far worse 420
 Than savages, miscalled Loyalists;
 These black revenge, and fury, hot from hell,
 Led on to deeds of madness; fathers, sons;
 Sons, fathers; and fraternal love, now chang'd
 Into fix'd hate, point at their kindred blood 425

lives to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary (as is said) to the orders of his superior officers." *Ramsay*, ii. 94-5. *Life of W.* iii. 564-5. See *Belsham*, ii. 379. Humanity would express a hope that this account is exaggerated; and indeed some extenuation is derived from the circumstance of the attack being made in the night.

419. *the fierce St. Leger &c.*—The detachment which was to proceed by the way of the Mohawk river was put under the command of colonel St. Leger. "It consisted of about 200 British troops, a regiment of New-York loyalists, raised and commanded by sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages." *Ramsay*, ii. 27. The cruelties committed by the Indians, and particularly the murder of the innocent and beautiful miss Maccree, "excited universal horror," and "instead of disposing the inhabitants to court British protection, had a contrary effect."—"Their cruel mode of warfare, by putting to death as well the smiling infant and the defenceless female, as the resisting armed man, excited an universal spirit of resistance." See *Ib.* 36—39. Of the plunder and ravages committed by the loyalists the American history is full. See *Ramsay*, ii. 114. "A particular detail—would be sufficient to freeze every breast with horror." *Ib.* 145. See 287-8. 293. "It was the general opinion of the Americans, that the continuance of the war, and the asperity with which it had been carried on, was more owing to the machinations of their own countrymen, who had taken part with royal government, than to their British enemies. It is certain that the former had been most active in predatory excursions, and most forward in scenes of blood, and murder." *Ramsay*, ii. 308.

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The dark assassin's poniard. Gracious God!
How long shall this contaminated globe
Escape thy justice! Is it that misery
Must point the road to happiness and love?
Yes! and the time shall come when love alone 430
Shall reign triumphant, and thy name be blest
By purer tongues upon a sinless earth.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK VII.

ARGUMENT OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

Distresses of the American army. Prayer of Washington. The Goddess Liberty appears to him, and brings him consolation. Arrival of the French forces under Rochambeau, and march of the united troops to York-town. Soliloquy of lord Cornwallis, and speech to his officers. His lordship's determination to defend York-town. Washington's address to his forces. Death of colonel Scammell.

WASHINGTON,

OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

Now had the slow-pac'd wain of sable night
Ascended heaven's mid-steep, and in her train
The starry host with all their glittering gems
Spangled the expanse; now was creation hush'd
In the soft dews of sleep, all but the mind 5
Of great Columbia's chieftain, him no sleep
But anxious care possess'd, and troubled thoughts
How he might shield his country from those ills
Which now on every side assail'd her round;
E'en in his very camp disease had spread 10
So thick her noisome vapours, that he fear'd
No efforts on his part could save the rest
From the grim jaws of death, and to these ills
Were added mutiny, and discontent,
Whose clamorous tongues pervaded all the camp: 15
Nor wanted cause; oft without food, or clothes,
Expos'd to all the inclemencies of sky,
Nor day, nor night, nor season brought relief.
E'en Congress' self unable to supply

The army's wants, was yet perforce impell'd 20
 To adopt such measures as necessity,
 Not prudence dictates, and increas'd tenfold
 The evil that was meant to remedy.
 Pondering on these, and various other ills,
 Thus to the Almighty Being the hero pray'd ; 25
 " Almighty Power ! who on the human breast
 Didst from the first ingrave the sacred love
 Of thy celestial freedom, making man
 After thy likeness ! Oh ! in mercy spare,
 Benignant Being ! in mercy spare our sins. 30
 Thou know'st how often, and how fervently
 My soul hath yearn'd for peace ; how oft essay'd
 To stop the effusion of the human blood ;
 Alas ! thou know'st how vain ; in thee alone
 I put my trust ; Oh ! guide my erring thoughts, 35
 Teach me to know thy will, and to obey
 That will when known, that thus the path of right

21. *To adopt such measures &c.*—Compare the note at b. i. ver. 275 ; and *Ramsay*, ii. 222—5. " In addition to the disasters from short crops, and depreciating money, disorder and confusion pervaded the departments for supplying the army. Systems for these purposes had been hastily adopted, and were very inadequate to the end proposed," &c. *Ib.* 188. See *Life of W.* iii. 40—3. " Mistaking a real depreciation of money for the extortion of avarice on the wants of the publick, an attempt was made, under the recommendation of Congress, to limit prices by law ; and this limitation, if persisted in, would once more have produced a famine," &c. *Ib.* 403—4. See iv. 245—7. 256. 264—7., where Washington complains of the defects of the State system, and the consequent want of power in Congress. " I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen ; and instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controuling power of the United States, considering themselves as dependent on their respective states," &c. See 361.

May lead to virtue, happiness, and thee.
But if thy justice must o'ertake our sins
Thy will, Omnipotent ! thy will be done." 40
Thus pray'd the chief, when to his ravish'd eyes
A radiant form appear'd, whose lucid robe
Flow'd to her feet, while all around was pour'd
Ambrosial fragrance ; and with voice divine
Thus she address'd Columbia's pious Chief ; 45
" Beloved Son ! thy virtuous prayer is heard,
And now by Heaven's all-wise decree I come,
To shield Columbia from her numerous foes,
And by thy means to give to future men
Freedom's eternal boon ; the time shall come 50
When e'en thy foes, who now with madden'd ire
Break the first precept of their heavenly guide,
And do themselves to others what themselves
Would not be done unto ; the time shall come
When they with loudest voice, and gratitude 55
Shall hail fair freedom's orb ; that orb once risen
Shall never set, but shall eternal shine
Diffusing light, and love throughout the world.
But evils yet must pass, before that time
That blessed time arrive, for happiness 60
Lies up the steeps of pain. But now attend,
While to thy gladden'd heart I pour fresh balm
Of joy and comfort ; Britain's haughty flag,
That rul'd despotick o'er that element
Which Heaven gave free to man, thus making power,
And right synonymous, has dared provoke 66
Russia's great empress to defend the laws

Of nature, and of nations : Neutral Powers
 Have guarantied the rights of God and man.
 But this the least ; for mighty Louis hears 70
 Columbia's plaints, and even now at hand
 His crowded squadrons, which by aid divine
 Wrapt in celestial clouds have pass'd the foe,
 Enter thy joyous havens ; greet them, Son !
 With love fraternal, and without delay 75
 Instant to York-town speed your troops combin'd,
 And there again we 'll meet thee." Thus she spake,
 And vanish'd, but by her empyreal gait
 Was known, confest the Seraph Liberty.
 O'erpower'd the hero sank, and on his knees 80
 Pour'd forth his silent gratitude to God.
 But soon was rous'd ; for lo ! the trumpet's sound
 Joyous announc'd great Gallia's sons arriv'd.
 Now had the morn thro' the eastern gate of
 heaven
 Diffus'd her roseate beams, when Fayette's spirit 85

68. *Neutral Powers &c.*—On the armed neutrality formed by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, in the year 1780, see *Ramsay*, ii. 209—211 ; *Life of W.* iv. 369. 373 : *Belsham*, iii. 40-1-2. " Let us (said lord Lansdowne, an. 1797,) endeavour to regain the good opinion of Europe, which we have lost by our pride and rapacity ; let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations ; and by thus recognizing the commercial liberty of the world, we should be the first to profit by it." *Belsham*, vi. 359.

70. *mighty Louis*—See book i. ver. 362.

85. *Fayette's spirit*—" The marquis de la Fayette, whose letters to France had a considerable share in reconciling the nation to patronize the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an effusion of tears, he embraced general Washington, exclaiming ;

Brooking no equal in Columbia's cause,
 With eager haste to Washington conducts
 His kindred chieftains, mighty Rochambeau,
 The brave de Grasse, St. Simon's noble fires,
 The valiant Ternay, and de Barras' skill, 90
 With that sage minister whose ardent zeal
 Had triumph'd o'er Columbia's enemies,
 The prudent Gerard ; these with Chastelleux,
 Du Portail, Choisy, and some other chiefs
 Now met Columbia's hero, when in few 95

'The king, my master, has acknowledged your independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its establishment.' The heartfelt joy, which spread from breast to breast, exceeded description. The several brigades assembled by order of the commander in chief, their chaplains offered up public thanks to Almighty God, and delivered discourses suitable to the occasion. A feu de joie was fired, and, on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with—'Long live the king of France'—poured forth from the breast of every private in the army." *Ramsay*, ii. 68.

88. *Rochambeau*, &c.—The French troops, convoyed by *marquis de Ternay*, left France on the 1st of May 1780, under the command of the count de Rochambeau, but did not arrive at Rhode Island till the 10th of July following. See *Ramsay*, ii. 192. The count de Grasse with a French fleet of 28 sail of the line entered the Chesapeak in August 1781. The troops on board of this fleet were commanded by the *marquis de St. Simon*. *Ib.* 260. A French fleet of 8 sail of the line, under the count de Barras, entered the Chesapeak in the night of September 7th, 1781, at the time when admirals Graves and de Grasse were manœuvring near its mouth. *Ib.* 261.

93. *The prudent Gerard*, (or *Girard*)—He was one of the secretaries of H. M. C. Majesty's council of state, and had been employed in the negotiations between France and America ; afterwards he was sent as minister plenipotentiary to the United States. *Ramsay*, ii. 65. 88 ; *Life of W.* iv. 20.

94. *some other chiefs*—Among others may be named M. d'Estouches, who commanded the French fleet after the death of de Ternay ; the baron de Viominel, &c.

Thus spake La Fayette; " Noble Washington!
Great Louis sends thee aid, and such an aid
As needs no tongue of Fayette to applaud.
The name of Rochambeau who leads our troops
To victory, and freedom, Fame herself 100
Hath made her own; and these our noble kin
Will on the field of battle prove their worth."
" Fayette! (replied the Chief) we greet them all,
As brethren greet them; Noble Rochambeau!
And ye brave sons of France! our gratitude 105
To mighty Louis passeth utterance;
Next to our nature, and that nature's God
We owe to him our freedom. Welcome all,
Thrice welcome are ye brethren." Thus to him
Great Rochambeau replied; " Most noble Chief!
Whose very name is freedom, and whose cause 111
The cause of God, and man; we but obey
The dictates of our hearts, when we obey
Our mighty monarch's will; that will declares
That the whole power of Gallia's potentate 115
Shall be exerted in Columbia's cause;
With her we'll live as brethren, and our lives,

108. *We owe to him our freedom.*—That America was in a great measure "indebted to France for her rank as a nation," was an opinion pretty general in the United States; and indeed the pathetick statement of their distresses, after the fall of Charleston, to the king of France, strongly corroborated the opinion. See *Life of W.* v. 608, note; *Ramsay*, ii. 262. For the speech of Rochambeau, in answer to the address of congratulation from the general assembly of the state of Rhode Island, and for the circumstances attending the junction of the two armies, see *Ramsay*, ii. 192-3.

To her devoted, now await command
Of thee Great Chieftain ; ardently we burn
To drive Cornwallis, and the British troops 120
From the blest soil of freedom ; lead us, Chief !
This instant lead us to the daring foe."
Yet was he speaking, when the hosts conjoin'd
Upstart a shout to the universal Lord
That rang heaven's joyous concave. Washington
Gave instant sign of march, thrice blessed march, 126
The cause of ceaseless good to future men,
While Freedom's self, unseen by mortal eye,
Made straight the way before them. Now had
Fame

With busy pinions to Cornwallis sped 130
Carrying the fatal news, and, as is wont,
Had fill'd a less undaunted soul with fear,
And aggravated phantasies ; but him
No fears possess'd, his British spirit disdain'd
To fear a foe ; but as that generous brute, 135
Whose floating image stream'd before his eyes,
When circled round by hunters, and by dogs,
Lashes himself to vengeance ; so the Chief
In his own might collected, pausing stands,
And to his own great soul thus dauntless speaks ;
" If 't is the will of Heaven that Liberty 141
Shall fix her standard in these western climes,
Vain were resistance ; Heaven itself best knows
That which is best ; but if 't is Fate's decree
That proud Rebellion here shall bend her head, 145
Our numerous foes tho' tenfold multiplied

Were but as dust ; our fate then rests above,
 And if we are not wanting to ourselves,
 The British flag shall triumph o'er its foes,
 Teach them to spare their threats, and boast no
 more." 150

Thus thought Cornwallis, and around him call'd
 His various chieftains ; here brave Tarleton came,
 With mighty Abercrombie, Simcoe's zeal,
 Campbell, Dundas, and many other chiefs,
 All but brave Phillips ; his eyes Death had clos'd 155
 Thro' envy : Them Cornwallis thus address'd ;
 " Britons, and Heroes ! well do ye deserve
 These titles, and ye noble German friends !
 Much to your valour do we justly owe.
 Oft have we seen you mid the battle's rage 160
 Plunging amidst the foe, and dauntless rush
 E'en to the cannon's mouth ; oft have we seen
 That foe, confiding to a hasty flight,
 Speed to his woods, and fastnesses, to escape
 Your venging swords, while all his towns, and
 farms 165
 Have fallen the spoil of your victorious deeds.
 Heroes ! the time's arriv'd when Britain stands

155. *brave Phillips* ;—" This distinguished officer, who having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, and was appointed to be commander of the royal forces in Virginia, March 1781, terminated his life in the May following. At early periods of his military career, on different occasions of a preceding war, he had gained the full approbation of prince Ferdinand, under whom he had served in Germany. As an officer he was universally admired." *Ramsey*, ii. 228 ; *Life of W.* iv. 487.

In need of all your valour : Washington
 Sunk, spiritless, fall'n, as a last resource
 Has call'd on Gallia's king, our natural foe, 170
 And proud rebellion has in Gallia's king
 Found a firm friend ; Gallia shall rue the day
 She gave that friendship ; but be cheer'd, ye Chiefs,
 Clinton has promis'd aid, immediate aid,
 And Digby soon, and Graves, with Britain's fleet
 Will rid the Chesapeak of those proud flags 176
 That idly stream before the vapouring gale.
 But now attend to these your Chief's commands ;
 In the deep York which laves our northern front,

172. *Gallia shall rue the day*—In the debate of March 17, 1778, Mr. Jenkinson observes, “ that the spirit of free inquiry and the effects of an extended commerce, have introduced a spirit among the French people that is wholly incompatible with their government.—Besides this, one bad effect of the zeal with which they affected to take up the American cause, and which they now learn in earnest to have an affection for, has tainted their principles with a spirit of republicanism. These principles of liberty always diminish the force of government ; and if they take root and grow up in France, we shall see that government as distracted and unsettled as any other.” See *Almon*, ix. 67.

174. *Clinton has promis'd aid, &c.*—“ Letters of an early date in September 1781, were received by lord Cornwallis (who had established himself at York-town in Virginia) from sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to re-inforce the royal army in Chesapeak, or make every diversion in his power, and that admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast.” *Ramsay*, ii. 260, 261. Another letter was afterwards received, “ announcing the arrival of admiral Digby with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New-York to embark 5000 men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th of October—that this fleet consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief,” &c. *Ib.* 268.

179. *In the deep York &c.*—“ York (or York-town) is a small village on the south side of the river which bears that

Let all our frigates, and our ships of war 180
 Be safely moor'd, that thus the pass twixt us,
 And Gloucester Point oppos'd may be secure;
 That point, brave Tarleton! to thy valourous arm
 We now confide, let it be fortified,
 And both the river's banks, with batteries, 185
 And strong redoubts; but on our southern side,
 Where we seem most expos'd, and where the foe
 Will plan his chief attack, let neither art,
 Nor labour be found wanting, abbatis,
 Nor fraize be spar'd, nor hornwork with its ditch,

name, where the long peninsula between the York and the James is only eight miles wide. In this broad and bold river a ship of the line may ride in safety. Its southern banks are high; and some batteries facing the water had been constructed on them by a small corps of artillery belonging to the state of Virginia, formerly stationed at this place. On the opposite shore is Gloucester Point; a piece of land projecting deep into the river, and narrowing it at that place, so that it does not exceed one mile. Both these posts were occupied by lord Cornwallis, who had been assiduous in fortifying them. The communication between them was commanded by his batteries, and by some ships of war which lay under his guns. The main body of his army (which amounted to about 7000 men) was encamped in the open grounds about York-town, within a range of outer redoubts and field-works, calculated to command the peninsula, and impede the approach of the assailants; and colonel Tarleton, with a small detachment, consisting of six or seven hundred men, held the post at Gloucester Point." *Life of W.* iv. 537-8.

186. *but on our southern side, &c.*—"The works erected for the security of York-town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the center, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries: on the left of the center was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraize and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left." *Ramsay*, ii. 268.

Nor strong redoubt, nor battery, nor the lines
Of firm stockade ; the marshy deep ravine
That guards our right may yet require some art
To strengthen it ; this, and whatever else
Seems to your wisdoms meet, be instant done. 195
Now to your posts, ye Chiefs ! and let the word
Be—Rule Britannia, and Rebellion crush'd.”
Thus spake the brave Cornwallis, and the Chiefs
Hie to their posts his orders to fulfil,
And wait with silent fortitude the foe. 200

But now uprear'd upon the western hills
Stream'd Freedom's ensigns, while the gleamy steel
Dazzles the distant sun, which then uprose
With conscious majesty, and slacken'd course
To wake earth's incense, and behold a deed 205
That sheds eternal blessings on mankind ;
When thus Columbia's hero to his troops ;
“ Gauls, and Columbians ! yon rising orb
That with unclouded glory sheds the beams
Of light, and love to man, must witness now 210
Freedom triumphant, or proud Despotism
Forging eternal fetters ; 't is on you,
On you high chosen above the rest of men
That Heaven has fix'd the doom, whether the day
Of death, or life, shall rise upon mankind : 215
Accept the high appointment ; be ye men ;
Swear by the spirits of your noble sires,
Swear by your God, that victory, or death
Shall crown your efforts ; see the foe intrench'd
Up to the chin now waits the coming storm 220

Of Freedom's fury, and from Clinton hopes
 Fresh aid ; but that, Columbians ! be yours
 To avert by previous victory ; and when
 Auspicious Heaven shall crown your noble deeds,
 Then let Humanity's blest office shine 225
 Triumphant in your breasts." Scarce had he said,
 When loudest shouts of " Victory, or death,"
 Torment the frightened air ; not louder shouts
 Were heard from Rome's brave veterans on that day,
 When, thro' parch'd deserts by great Cato led, 230
 They reach'd fair Leptis, half their numbers lost
 The spoil of horrid snakes ; and now arriv'd
 On York-town's plains the friends of free-born man
 Began the hostile trench, and counterwork'd
 By lines, and parallels the enclosed foe ; 235
 Not unresisted ; Britain's warrior chief
 Yielded to none in valour ; every inch
 Was stain'd with blood ; nor had he then withdrawn,
 Despite of Simon's bravery, his troops
 Within his inner lines, but to obey 240
 Clinton's superiour orders, promising
 Digby's arrival with immediate aid.
 Nor thee, brave Scammell ! must the muse forget,

234. *and counterwork'd* &c.—Compare *Life of W.* iv. 539, &c. In the first rencounter the loss on the American side "was principally sustained by the corps of the marquis de St. Simon on the left." 540.

243. *Nor thee, brave Scammell!*—"The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-town, and lay on their arms all night. On the next day colonel Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and of the most amiable manners, in approaching the outer works of the British, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner." *Ramsay*, ii. 268.

Death saw thee with incautious step advance
To trace the foe's proud works, and with sure aim
Made thy frail, weak mortality his own. 246
Columbia mourn'd thy fate, and e'en thy foes
Bewail'd, and envied thy uncommon worth.

END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.



WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK VIII.

ARGUMENT OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

Soliloquy of Washington. Liberty again appears to him, and foretells future peace and happiness;—recounts to him the services she has performed, at length removes from his eyes the film of mortality. Picture of the infernal host, floating above the Apalachian Mountains. The shield of Satan. Preparation for battle.

WASHINGTON,

OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

SCARCE had Night's harbinger begun to draw
Her sable curtain o'er the vast concave
Shedding gray twilight, when Columbia's son
Wrapt in sad thought forth issued from his tent,
To view that terrein where ambition's rage 5
Would premature send down to dusky death
The souls of thousand warriors ; pondering deep
The pensive hero stood, and thought he saw
Thick dews of blood impurpling o'er the plain,
While clanging vultures seem'd to hover round 10
Gorg'd with the blood of men. Aw'd by the sight
Thus to his mighty soul the hero spake ;
“ Alas ! how pregnant is the present hour
With dark futurity ! Unhappy man !
Disturbed nature seems to wail thy lot, 15
That born to reap the best of Heaven's gifts
Thou shouldst subvert the intention of thy God.
Whence all this madness ? Tigers wage not war
With ravenous tigers ; nor the spotted pard

Preys on his kindred spots ; 'tis man alone 20
Is to his fellow man the savage brute.
Him dire ambition, and the curse of gold
Impel to human murder ; not content
With what sufficeth happiness, he seeks
That which promotes his misery. O Peace! 25
How yearns my soul for thee ! How oft I've tried
To stop the effusion of the blood of man,
And bless my country with thy pure delights !
But all in vain ; ambition's lawless rage
Forbids the joyful hope. But thou, blest star ! 30
That thus with solemn majesty diffusest
Wide o'er the silent earth thy pearly beams,
The type of heavenly love I hear now my vows ;
Should Heaven, and freedom aid my feeble arm
And crown with victory Columbia's sens, 35
No haughty insolence, no proud disdain,
No black revenge for countless injuries,
Shall check my purpose, or pollute my soul ;
But all my past endeavours be renew'd
To stop the evils that so long have overwhelm'd 40
The human race with woe, and give to man
Peace and good-will divine. And thou blest Seraph!
That erst from Heaven descended, and didst deign
To call me son ; Oh ! grant me heavenly aid,
Fulfil thy glorious promise, that the orb 45
Of liberty once risen, ne'er shall set,
But shall eternal shine." Scarce had he said
When freedom's Seraph burst upon his view,
And in her hand she bore an orb'd shield

Of such transcendent brightness, that, tho' veil'd
In thickest cloud, the strongest mortal eye 51
Could not support its edge, and thus she spake ;
While sounds celestial, and empyreal sweets
Breath'd round the enravish'd senses of the chief ;
" Beloved Chieftain ! Freedom's chosen prop ! 55
Thy pious prayer is heard, and Heaven ordains
That man no longer shall be made the sport
Of proud ambition, but that reason's light
Diverg'd from western woods as from her centre,
Shall thro' the world restore the reign of peace. 60
But tho' the time be short ere this decree
Shall have full force, yet is it mark'd with blood.
The morrow's sun which soon shall tinge the hills
With light ethereal, shall grow pale to see
The horrors of the day ; but these few hours 65
Of misery overpast, ages of joy,
With some short blood-stain'd intervals of evil,
Shall bless mankind, and the first stone be laid
Of universal freedom, peace, and love.

67. *Some short blood-stain'd intervals &c.*—It is my firm persuasion, deeply impressed, that wars will speedily be extirpated from the face of Europe ; this opinion will, I know, afford rather a subject for ridicule than contemplation to those who measure the duration of time by the short, evanescent space of human existence : but the world is yet in its first stage of infancy, the light of reason has but just begun to dawn, and one of its best effects will be to teach the rising man, to study the happiness of his fellow-creatures, and no longer be made the tool of folly or ambition.

The effect of knowledge in uniting the Americans in the defence of their rights and liberties, is well portrayed by *Dr. Ramsay*, ii. 321.

Hail then, thou chosen Chief! thou blest of men!
Fulfil the will of Heaven, and give to man 71
The life that Heaven ordain'd him at his birth."
Thus spake Seraphick Virtue, and the Chief
Instant the Seraph knew, and thus replied;
" Celestial Spirit! Belov'd of God and man! 75
I know and feel thy power, nor will delay
One moment to fulfil the will divine.
With thee my guide, and shield, not all the earth
Risen in arms shall chill my heart with fear,
Or stop the daring progress of my arm." 80
Thus spake the chief, and Freedom thus again;
" Long have I lov'd thy zeal, long time admir'd
Thy various virtues; midst the battle's rage
Oft have I seen thee with a whirlwind's force
Bear down whole columns of the opposed foe; 85
And yet as oft amid sulphureous smoke,
And whizzing death, have I perceiv'd thy soul
Pause on the well-fought field, and plan thy thoughts
Into new being. In the cabinet
Kings have admir'd thy wisdom, for thy brow 90
Crown'd with the choicest gifts of youth and age,
In years scarce mellow'd but in judgement ripe,
E'en from thy bitterest foes hath claim'd respect:
'Tis there Deliberation joys to sit,
While Wisdom, join'd with Genius, hand in hand
Play round their Chieftain. These thou ow'st to me;
I am thy great auxiliar, and thy shield. 97
Midst all the dangers of the battle's rage,

Midst western woods, and Indian tomahawks,
 Midst deep-plann'd ambuscades, and icy frauds, 100
 Midst Apalachian snows, mid treachery,
 Disease, and famine, have I stood thy friend.
 Oft have I turn'd the leaden death aside
 Unseen by thee, and thus preserv'd a life
 On which the fate of millions yet unborn 106
 Depends for freedom's blessings; even now
 Thy greatest earthly foes, on whom alone
 Britain's best hopes depended, are thro' me
 Lur'd by Eustathius' gold, and stricken blind

99. *Midst western woods, &c.*—See notes, book i. ver. 257. 260, &c.

109. *Eustathius' gold*.—The island of St. Eustathius was taken by sir George Rodney, and general Vaughan in Feb. 1781. "The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was prodigious. The whole island seemed to be one vast magazine. The store-houses were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities. These alone, on a moderate calculation, were estimated to be worth above three millions sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was indiscriminately seized and declared to be confiscated," &c. *Ramsay*, ii. 215. "The Dutch West India company, many of the citizens of Amsterdam, and several Americans, were great sufferers by the capture of this island, and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately followed; but the British merchants were much more so. These, confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of parliament, had accumulated therein great quantities of West-India produce, as well as European goods. They stated their hard case to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, and contended that their connection with the captured island was under the sanction of acts of parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was answered; that the island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated." *Ib.* 216. After mentioning the numbers that were reduced to indigence in consequence of such proceedings, the historian

Know not or friends, or foes, but there consume
In barbarous wantonness that precious time 111
Which else had sav'd a kingdom. These and more
Columbia owes to me, and now I'm sent
By Heaven's high mandate to assist thy cause,
The cause of God and man; and in much need 115
Thou stand'st of heavenly aid, for 'tis not man
Thou hast alone to combat, but all Hell
Is risen in arms against thee, and now floats
In mid expanse, o'er Apalachian snows,
Cloth'd with infernal horrors; but fear not, 120
For Liberty's thy friend, and with this shield
Of heavenly temper ever guards her sons."
This said; the seraph breath'd ambrosial breath
On the enravish'd chief; instant his limbs
Imbib'd celestial vigour, and his eyes 125
Dropp'd the thick film of weak mortality.
O may the Muse receive such heavenly aid!
For hard 't is for mortal to describe

observes; "The friends of humanity, who wish that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national justice, must be gratified when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of causes which, as hereafter shall be explained, brought on the great event in the Chesapeake, which gave peace to contending nations. While admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered in the sales of confiscated property at St. Eustathius, and especially while his fleet was weakened by a large detachment sent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were silently executing a well-digested scheme, which assured them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States." *Ib.* 217-8. Compare *Ib.* 263; and *Life of W.* iv. 525.

That which beyond the sphere of this poor world
Is only to be known. Scarce was his sight 130
Purg'd from its dross, when all the infernal host,
Floating in depth immense twixt earth and sky,
In all its horrors burst upon his view :
Astounded stood the chief, and turn'd his eyes
T'ward his seraphick guide, who smil'd a smile 135
Ineffable, and thus dispell'd his fears ;
“ Well may thy mortal senses feel alarm
At all those horrors which now strike thy view
When e'en celestials, arm'd with heavenly arms,
Long time withstood them doubting victory, 140
And fear'd that heaven itself had gone to wrack.
But now by much-accumulated sin,
And long sojourn in hell, and above all
By the decrees of Heaven, their power to harm
By open force is gone, and nought remains 145
But empty show ; tho' yet by fury blind
And mad despair, they urge their hastening fate,
Despite of all the signs of heavenly wrath,
And that scorch'd omen, which is there uprear'd
Close to the blood-gorg'd Moloch. Hence let fear
Be banish'd from thy breast, for Fate forbids 151
Their arms to hurt mankind. Thence turn your eyes
T'ward their infernal chieftain, in his front
Pretending hope and joy, while deep despair
Preys on his tortur'd bosom ; so bad men 155
Oft to promote the blackest purposes
Against their fellow-men, wear on their brow

The hollow smiles of ill-dissembled love
While their hearts rankle with malicious ire.
But see where Satan, in thick darkness wrapt, 160
Far 'bove the blasted Apalachians floats,
Arm'd with his horrent shield, and glittering spear,
And tho' he knows his fate, yet in that fate
Premeditates the downfall of mankind."
She spake; the hero turn'd, and back, aghast, 165
Ret'ild at sight of that adamantyne orb,
Whose broad circumference of horrors glar'd,
Like a nocturnal meteor scaring men.

On its huge boss, a vast and solid rock,
Sat dreaded Demogorgon; and around 170
Pursuit and Flight, and Fear, and Uproar wild,
And dire Confusion, mix'd with fiends from hell,
Whose names the Muse disdains to bring to light.
Here too was laughing Sin, and stalking Death,
And Famine, grinding her insatiate teeth, 175
With meagre Poverty, and brutish Force.
Here Tumult blaz'd, and Slaughter, and black Fate
Prowling for blood of victims newly slain.
Here Discord, trampling on the human mind, 179
Urg'd men to war, while pallid Darkness, crown'd
With dust, and tears, and blood, inwrapt the whole.
And in the next vast circle rose to view
The infernal host warring against the Ili'g'st.
Here flaming darts in countless multitudes
Vaulted all heaven with fire, and underneath 185
The bristling myriads met in conflict dread.

Here shield with shield, helmet with helmet clash'd,
Here angel shock'd with angel, spear with spear,
And all was clamour, discord, rage, and din.

Not far from these was seen the host of hell 190

Training their devilish engines, here their chief

Scoffing with Belial watch'd the dire effect ;

When in an instant all the ethereal sky

Madden'd with fury, and the chained bolts 194

Mow'd down whole legions of the angelick host ;

Foul rout ensued, and all heaven's pavement flow'd

With hectarous ichor, such as bleeds from Gods.

And next appear'd huge rocks, and woods, and hills,

Encountering in mid sky ; here uproar rag'd

And dire confusion, there the horrid Moloch, 200

Like a mad Thyad with the God enrapt,

Rolling his slaughter-flashing eye-balls round,

Rav'd out his impious blasphemies, and swore

That heaven should go to wrack. And next to
these,

In separate division, blaz'd to view 205

The ancient Cronus, imprecating curses

Against his rebel son, the thundering Jove,

Who hurl'd his parent with his Titans down

From highest heaven into the pitchy depth

Of Tartarus ; where iron hinges grate 210

O'er brazen thresholds ; there is outer dark,

And storm and tempest, and the realm of night,

Where Sleep and Death have fix'd their drear abode,

As far 'neath hell, as hell's beneath the sky.

Here the gigantick sons of Heaven, and Earth, 215

Struggled for air, and sun, in dreadful gloom ;

While sage Prometheus, with his mother Themis,
Stood counselling the great Saturnian Jove ;
But soon repents his counsel, ingrate Jove,
Like human tyrants, now disdains his friend, 220
Kicks down the ladder whence he mounts aloft,
And laws, and justice tramples 'neath his feet :
See now the benefactor of mankind,
Who taught them first to use their eyes, and ears,
Doom'd in his turn the tyrant's wrath to feel ; 225
See where tho' chain'd to rugged Scythia's rocks
He braves the thunderer's ire, and scornful tells
The cringing Mercury, that he dares his bolts ;
" He cannot kill me," spake the enlighten'd sage,
" Prometheus is immortal:" scarce he said, 230
When trembling earth, struck by the forked light,
Open'd her yawning jaws, and deep involv'd
The dauntless hero midst the sinking wreck.
Next unto these a giant brood was seen,
Threatening the heavens, and piling with vast toil
The Alps on Apenines, and up both up-rolling 236
The raging Ætna, and its sister Fire,
With all their rocks, and woods, and waves, and
flames.
And in the next division blaz'd to sight 239
Horrors which scarce the Muse herself could count,
Or chieftain's eye, tho' purg'd of earthly dross,
Could plain distinguish, such, so great the blaze ;
Here perjur'd Gods were seen in dreary trance

217. *While sage Prometheus, &c.*—See *Æschylus, Prom.* 217 ; and compare ver. 235—8. 447. 478. 506. 1061, of the same patriotic drama, for an illustration of the subsequent passages.

Punish'd for breach of oath on sacred Styx :
Here too were kings, sunk in the lap of ease, 245
Sleeping profoundly, while their ministers
Removed far from danger and from toil,
Halloo the dogs of war, and roar aloud,
'Havock, ye sons of earth, havock, and blood !'
Fools ! not to know that havock, echo-like, 250
Returns upon its authors. 'There were kings,
Distrusting those, who most deserved trust,
Their genuine friends, their people's firmest hope,
And placing all their confidence in men,
Whom gaunt ambition, and the love of power,
Have taught so to condemn the people's love, 256
That surest prop of power, that they at last
Unable to retrieve their countless faults,
Or save their country from impending fate,
Hail ruin as their good. And near to these 260
Were racks, and wheels, and superstitious fires
Of heathen-imitating monks, and priests,
With human victims slain to human Gods.
Next Satan's own fell deeds in happy Eden.
Here lay the fiend close to the ear of Eve, 265
Whispering soft disobedience to the will
Of Adam, and her God ; she with bold hand
Plucks the forbidden fruit, and eats thereof
With wanton eagerness, then gives the man,
Who thro' despair doth take ; what could he else ?
For what is man unblest by female charm ? 271
A solitary nothing. Now they joy
In luscious wantonness, and guilt, and sin,

While Satan laughs askance. So story says,
Sang by the immortal Milton, Britain's Eye. 275
And next to these appear'd a dreadful sight,
A city plunder'd by the barbarous foe.

Here were the awful temples of the Gods
One horrid blaze of light; the Gods themselves
Deserting their abode thro' guilt of man. 280

Here from the lofty roofs, and battlements,
Were frantick mothers with their infant hopes
Plunging to death, to escape from servitude,
And what is worse than death: Here aged sires,
Whose hoary looks had mov'd the hearts of brutes,
Even at the altar's vain security, 286

Transpierc'd by hostile steel; their headless trunks
Thrown on their bleeding sons; while their own
dogs

Dapious, were glutting in their masters' blood. 282

Here prayers, and oaths, and dreadful clash of arms,
And hollow sound of hoofs; thick clogg'd with gore;
Here rape, and rapine, pillage, all combin'd

With horrid darkness, and the gleams of steel;
While lurid spectres glanc'd throughout the air,
And clamours, shrieks, and cries involv'd the whole
And in the last compartment blaz'd afar 290

Nature's vast, awful; universal wreck.
Here all the fissured earth with dreadful crash
Disgorg'd from yawning craters sulphurous fire,
Here floating granites in the liquid mass 300

Roll'd horribly; there madden'd ocean heaves

His billowy vapours, and for mastery

Strives with his sister elemental fire,
 Blotting the orb of day ; while thro' the air
 Heaven's wrathful trumpet up to judgement calls
 The souls of men ; here variegated Vice, 306
 And Evil now confess'd their darkest deeds,
 Quaking with horror ; here pale Despotism
 With all its cringing minions trembling stood
 Waiting the awful sentence—' Go, ye curs'd, 310
 To everlasting fire ;' that instant hell
 Opes its wide jaws, and all the infernal host
 Greet the throng'd advocates of crime, and sin.

Such was the Gorgon shield of Hell's Archfiend ;
 And round the outer orb, thick sulphurous flames
 In curling billows roll'd, a sea of fire. 316

Satan within these terrours deep ingloom'd,
 Sat like the shades of night, his awful head
 Crown'd with the helm, and nodding plumes of
 fate ; 319

While borrow'd lightning play'd before his face,
 And hell-wrought thunders rattled round his car.

The hero saw, and scarce at length restor'd
 By his angelick guide to reason's light,
 When grisly Terror in the ribs of Death,
 With teeth of naked steel, on his pale horse 325
 Sat grinning slaughter ; in his train were seen
 Vultures, and howling dogs, and ravenous wolves.
 When thus the chieftain to his heavenly guide ;
 " Take me, O take me from this scene of woe !
 Thou know'st how much my soul hath yearn'd for
 peace,

How much it longs to snap the tilted spear, 331
And give to suffering man the balm of rest.”
“ And man shall have that rest, (the seraph cried,)
But Fate must be fulfill'd, and virtuous men
Compell'd to do those things their soul abhors. 335
But haste, convene thy chiefs, for soon the foe
Prepares for battle ; and once more reflect
That Freedom is thy friend, and while thy heart
With virtue dwells, will ne'er forsake thy cause.
And see, the sword of Michael waves aloft 340
In middle sky, while Victory, and Success,
With outspread pinions float above thy tents.”
The seraph said, and join'd the heavenly choir ;
Nor could Columbia's chieftain thus forbear ;
“ Hail ! Heavenly Mission ! Since 't is so decreed
For man to suffer, that his race may gain, 346
I make no longer pause, but haste to obey
The will of Fate, and crown the work divine.”

335. *Compell'd to do &c.*—“ Sir,” said Washington one day to a foreign gentleman, “ I observe you wish me to speak of the war. It is a conversation I always avoid. I rejoice in the establishment of the liberties of America ; but the time of the struggle was a horrible period, in which the best men were compelled to do many things repugnant to their nature.” *New Annual Reg.* 1800, p. 197.

END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED.

BOOK IX.

ARGUMENT OF THE NINTH BOOK.

Washington's address to his troops. Battle of York-town.
Two British redoubts taken by assault. Colonel Hamilton.
Lord Cornwallis's speech to Abercrombie,—with the reply.
Abercrombie's successful sortie,—with his speeches to his
troops. Bravery of the British.

WASHINGTON,

OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

AND now the watchful Hours with silent hand
Unbarr'd the gates of heaven, and led the Morn:
Forth from his eastern chamber, like a God,
To bless with heavenly light the sons of men,
When great Columbia's chief without delay 5
Conven'd her chosen guardians, and allies.
Here Laurens' noble ardour, valiant Knox,
Brave Steuben, Butler, and Viominel,
Nelson, and Weedon, Noaille, Hamilton,
With these brave chiefs whom oft the Muse has
nam'd, 10
And Freedom will record; these now conven'd,
Columbia's chief with speedy words address'd,
While round the circle pour'd the thronging troops;
"Warriors! Avengers of your country's wrongs;
Heroes! whom Trenton hath immortaliz'd; 12
Victors of Saratoga! whom now want
Nor cold, nor famine, nor war-revered foes
With all their boasted discipline could turn

From the great cause of justice, law, and right!
And ye, brave Frenchmen! on whose laurell'd brows
Triumphant Victory joys to hold her seat; 21
See the blest hour arriv'd, when all our woes
Must end their earthly course: ere yonder orb,
Whose roseate beams just tinge the eastern sky,
Shall be full risen, the sign of blood is rais'd. 25
Soldiers! the spirits of your noble sires,
Who sought for freedom in a wilderness,
Now hover over you, their favour'd sons.
Revere their sterling worth; revere your own;
Act from your own exemplar, and take shame 30
Not only not to equal, but excel
That which yourselves have done. The hour is
struck
Of vengeance to our foes; the hour is struck
Of renovated liberty to man.
Soldiers! on you depends your country's fate; 35
Your rights, your laws, your freedom are at stake;
Your wives, your children, parents, all that men,
And free men hold most dear, depend on you.
This is no common conflict, and demands
No common efforts, but I speak to men 40
Whom conquest now awaits; whom death itself,
Which oft'ner strikes the coward than the brave,
Meets then unarm'd with terrors, when it meets
Fighting for freedom in their country's cause:
Show now that country that your ancient fame 45
Shines undiminish'd, and when solid peace
Shall crown your glorious acts, and we obtain

Our rank amid the nations of the earth,
 Then shall your grateful countrymen exclaim
 With pointed finger, as they see you pass, 50
 ‘Of freedom’s first defenders that was one.’”
 Scarce had he paused, than as when boisterous winds
 Impel the curling billows of the deep
 Against proud Portland’s long-extended bank,
 The shore no sooner feels the surgy lash, 55
 Than wide o’er ether spreads the echoing roar;
 So now such loud, such long, incessant shouts
 Burst from the enraptur’d host, that earth, and sky
 In one applauding tumult seem’d combin’d.
 “Give the dread sign, great chieftain! Give the word;”
 Was one united, one repeated shout. 61
 The hero saw, nor longer had he check’d
 His ardour-breathing troops, whose horrent ranks
 Bristled like ocean to the western breeze,
 But that the foe, whose British spirit disdain’d 65
 To wait attack, had now commenc’d the war,

51. ‘Of freedom’s first defenders &c.—Bonaparte’s energetic proclamation to his soldiers, issued at Milan, May 1796, concluded in these words; “You will then return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens will say, showing you, This man was of the army of Italy.” Compare also his spirited address to his soldiers after the victory of Castiglione.

“Happy, thrice happy,” said Washington, “shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office, in erecting this stupendous fabric of freedom.” *Life of W.* iv. 668.

66. *had now commenc’d the war, &c.*—“On approaching the lines a sharp skirmish took place, which terminated unfavourably for the British; after which they remained under cover of their works, and the blockade sustained no further interruption.” *Life of W.* iv. 539. Compare *Ramsay*, ii. 268-9.

And to his sorrowing eyes a crowd of friends,
 Bearing their wounded comrades in their arms,
 Pass'd with their groaning burthens, while the roar
 Of distant cannon loud, and louder yet, 70
 Increased upon his ears, and the thick smoke
 Roll'd its sulphureous volumes to the skies.
 So when Columbiar Niagara, swoln
 By melted snows, and pouring rains, rolls down
 Its rapid horrors o'er expanded rocks, 75
 Into the deep abyss, while all the air,
 Charg'd with the surging vapours, dims the sun;
 This when the wandering traveller hears from far
 In the deep gloom of long-extended woods,
 At first his ear perceives the hollow sound 80
 With little observation; till again
 The veering winds, aided by shorten'd space,
 Bring it with increased fury, and at last
 His eyes and ears, and feelings all confus'd
 Blend in the common horror; so the chief 85
 Gaz'd on the rising storm, and scarce restrain'd
 His troops' impetuous ardour, who, inflam'd
 With more than common wrath for slaughter'd
 friends,
 With difficulty wait the sign of blood;
 But this no sooner giv'n, they rush, they fly, 90
 Mix in the carnage and colleague with death.
 And now the dreaded parallels of war

92. the dreaded parallels &c.—“On the 9th and 10th of October 1781, the French and Americans opened their bat-

Open'd their throated thunders, and the storm
 Rag'd in full fury : as when threatening clouds
 With heav'n's electrick freight, and mutual ire, 95
 Darken the Indian ocean, when the change
 Of monsoon winds disturbs great nature's flow,
 Urg'd by the eastern, or by western blasts
 They join in horrid conflict, and the roar
 Of pealing thunder, and the forked light 100
 Madden the sea, and sky, and all is lost
 In one confusion vast, fire, water, air ;
 Should some fate-freighted vessel, bound for Ind
 With gold, the curse of intellect on board,
 Reach these these terrors, neither pow'r, nor art,
 Avails them aught, but straight the vivid fire 105
 Rents the thin oak, and pours in watery death ;
 So rag'd the horrors of the field of blood.
 Here nitrod thunder roll'd along the plain,
 And vibrated thro' heaven's ethereal vault, 110
 While trembling Apalachians hurl'd the sound
 To frighten'd ocean, and old ocean's fears
 Re-hurl'd to trembling Apalachians.
 Here sulphurous lightning, and the gleam of steel
 Glan'd through the lurid smoke ; and iron fate 115
 Fell, like the snows of heav'n, till wearied Death
 Gorg'd, tho' unsatisfied, sat down for rest.
 And should perchance some momentary space

teries: they kept up a brisk and well-directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars, and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour, and the Charon of 44 guns and a transport ship were burned." *Ramsay*, ii. 289. *Life of W.* 540.

Relax the throated engines' horrid roar,
 There piercing cries, and groans of dying men, 120
 There boasts of victors o'er their vanquish'd foes,
 There neighing steeds wailing their loss of limbs,
 Guiltless, yet suffering for the crimes of man ;
 These all, where any interval prevails,
 Transpierce the murky air ; and mix'd with these 125
 Are prayers, and tears, and vows, and useless oaths,
 And then anon the clarion shrill is heard
 With the loud trumpet, and the hollow drum ;
 While York's plain flows in fratricidal blood :
 Such and so great the terrors of the field. 130
 Mean-time the chieftain, where the battle rag'd
 In fellest fury, there his awful front
 Blaz'd like a meteor, while the grace divine
 Shone round his form majestick, and his arm
 A treble blade seem'd wielding. But the Gauls, 135
 Jealous to be outdone in freedom's cause,
 Shot through the plain their lightning gleam of
 arms,
 Greeting mid danger : and Columbia's son,
 Who saw with joy this emulating spirit

139. *Who saw with joy &c.*—"Reciprocal esteem, and a spirit of emulation between the French and Americans, being cultivated with great care by the commander in chief, the siege was carried on with unexampled rapidity. On the night of the 11th the second parallel was opened, &c.—The three succeeding days were devoted to the completion of the second parallel, and of the batteries constructed in it; during which, the fire of the garrison, who, with indefatigable labour, had opened several new embrasures, became more destructive than at any previous time." *Life of W.* iv. 541.

'Twixt the two rival nations, now design'd 140
 To give it fullest force. Far to the left
 Two strong redoubts by British prowess form'd,
 Flank'd and impeded his progressive toils ;
 These to possess by storm at every risk
 Was his fix'd purpose, and against the one 145

142. *Two strong redoubts &c.*—"The men in the trenches were particularly annoyed by two redoubts, advanced three hundred yards in front (on the left) of the British works, which flanked the second parallel of the besiegers. It was necessary to possess these redoubts; and on the 14th preparations were made to carry them both by storm. To avail himself of the spirit of emulation existing between the troops of the two nations, and to avoid furnishing matter to excite the jealousy of either, the attack of the one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. The marquis de la Fayette commanded the American detachment, composed of the light infantry, which was intended to act against the redoubt on the left of the British works on the river bank; and the baron de Viominel led the grenadiers and chasseurs of his country against that which, being further to the British right, approached rather nearer the French lines. Towards the close of day, the two detachments marched with equal firmness to the assault. Emulous for glory both for themselves, and their country, every exertion was made by each. Colonel Hamilton led the advanced corps of the Americans, consisting of his own and of colonel Gimat's battalions; and colonel Laurens, another aid of the commander in chief, turned the redoubt at the head of eighty men, in order to take the garrison in reverse, and intercept their retreat. The troops rushed on to the charge without firing a single piece; and so great was their ardour, that they did not give the sappers time to remove the abattis and palisades. Passing over them, they assaulted the works with irresistible impetuosity on all sides at once, and entered them with such rapidity that their loss was inconsiderable. This redoubt was defended by major Campbell, with some inferior officers, and forty-five privates.—The redoubt attacked by the French was defended by a greater number of men; and the resistance being greater, was not overcome so quickly, or with so little loss." *Life of W. iv. 541-2; Ramsay, ii. 269-270.*

Some chosen Gauls by brave Viominel
 Were straight conducted, while great Fayette led
 Columbia's free-born ardours 'gainst the other.
 Scarce was the onset giv'n, when abattis,
 And fraise, and palisades already pass'd 150
 The dauntless Hamilton upon the works
 Waves the proud flag of freedom; Laurens saw
 The joyous emblem, and with rival speed
 Hastes in reverse, and cuts off all retreat.
 Then Campbell, British chieftain, knew too late 155
 How vain the struggle 'gainst fair Freedom's sons:
 'Twas then, great Hamilton! thy inbred worth
 Blaz'd forth in glory; like Columbia's chief,
 Forgetting recent wrongs, incapable
 Of imitating actions that disgrace 160
 More generous brutes, in middle victory
 Thou stay'dst the arm of slaughter; Mercy's self,
 The Muse can witness, quitted her abode,
 And with a wreath, pluck'd from the bowers of
 heaven,
 With hand seraphick crown'd thy virtuous brow.
 Meanwhile the brave Viominel leads on 166
 His emulous Gauls, and treads with equal steps
 The path to victory, but his success

157. 'Twas then, great Hamilton!—"The irritation produced by the recent carnage in fort Griswold had not so far subdued the humanity of the American character, as to induce retaliation. Not a man was killed, except in action. 'Incapable,' said colonel Hamilton in his report, 'of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocation, the soldiery spared every man that ceased to resist.'" *Life of W.* iv. 543, note. See *Ramsay*, ii. 270.

Was dearly bought ; for Britons, tho' compell'd
 To yield the contest to superiour force, 170
 'Sdeign'd to retire till that the number'd dead
 Of their proud foes surpass'd their own four-fold.
 Night now in sable clothing veil'd the sky,
 When great Cornwallis, who throughout the day
 Had prodigies perform'd of valour, turn'd 175
 His eyes to heaven's vault, and thought he saw
 The lighten'd scale of justice rising slow
 Charg'd with the fate of Britain ; back aghast
 The hero shrank, and thus exclaim'd aloud ;
 " Whence do these visionary forms arise 180
 Disturbing reason's empire ? Is there not
 Enough of misery in human life,
 But must our fancy aggravate the ill ?
 Hence, thou false vision of the troubled mind,
 Cornwallis knows thee not." The hero spake ; 185
 Then call'd brave Abercrombie to his tent,
 And thus his kindred nobleness address'd ;
 " Warriour ! Too long our frustrate hopes are plac'd
 On Clinton's promises ; a messenger
 Is just arriv'd who brings intelligence 190
 To damp our opening prospect : Hood and Graves

188. *our frustrate hopes &c.*—" On the 10th of Oct. 1781, a messenger arrived with a dispatch from sir H. Clinton to lord Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York." *Ramsay*, ii. 269.

191. *Hood and Graves*—For an account of the indecisive action between the English and French fleets, the former under the command of admirals Hood and Graves, and the

Who five successive suns have hover'd off
 The bay of Chesapeak, encountering
 Superiour force and numbers, by mischance
 Have suffer'd Barras to escape their skill, 195
 And join De Grasse, who now has fortified
 The entrance of the bay, and there secure
 Defies attack ; it is then on ourselves,
 The warriour's best reliance, on ourselves,
 That all our future hopes, and confidence 200
 Must safely rest, and when the morrow's dawn
 Shall streak the distant hills, do thou assail
 With some selected bands those batteries
 From whence our haughty foe threats to disgorge
 A renovated tempest ; show that foe, 205
 Vain of his late success, that Britons rise
 Superiour from defeat." Thus spake the chief,
 And Abercrombie thus in few replied ;
 " General ! To execute thy wiser plans
 Is Abercrombie's glory, and his pride, 210
 And ere the morning ray shall strike the hills
 Thy will shall be fulfill'd, and Britain's sons

latter under De Grasse, with their manœuvring for five days off the Chesapeak, and the consequent junction of De Grasse and the count de Barras, see *Life of W.* iv. 528-9. 537.

202. *do thou assail &c* — "To suspend for a short time a catastrophe which appeared almost inevitable, lord Cornwallis resolved on attempting to retard the completion of the second parallel, by a vigorous sortie against two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest readiness, and which were guarded by French troops. The party making this sortie consisted of three hundred and fifty men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie." *Life of W.* iv. 545.

Pour their full vengeance on those rebel forts."
To whom Cornwallis; "Well I know thy worth,
And time shall come when on the name revered 215
Of Abercrombie Britain's hopes shall rest:
But now we part, I to repair our ills;
Thou to thy post, and soon we'll meet again."
He said, and both their several ways pursued,
Striving to ward by weak mortality. 220
The blow of justice, and the arm of heaven.
But now the joyous harbinger of day
'Gan to dispel from off the tainted earth
Foul slavery's latest vapours, when uprose
The Scottish chief; around him throng'd his bands,
Selected bands, to whose vain prowess fate 226
Had giv'n the spark of slavery to relume
For some short moments, these encircled round
The warrior thus in ardent words address'd;
"Fellows in arms! to whom our chief assigns 230
The glorious post to check in mid career
Yon rebel host, and blast their full-grown pride,
Show now your worthiness; that eminence
On which we stand high chos'n above the rest
Must not be tarnish'd, but posterity 235
Joy to record your deeds. Mark then my words;
Soon as the signal's given, with eagle speed
Rush on the opposed batteries, and thence
Drive with the favour'd bayonet the foe
Who dares resist your progress; that perform'd 240
Spike up their belching engines, and destroy

Of the Columbian works had been complete,
Had not St. Simon's penetrating eye 260
Perceiv'd the direful evil, and aloud
Thus to his troops he cries ; " For shame, ye Gauls !
Where do you speed your flight ? No other hope,
No other bulwark now awaits your steps ;
In your own arms your hopes of safety lie. 265
Are these your promises, your firm resolves,
To die, or conquer in Columbia's cause ?
But tho' ye have forgot your duty, Gauls !
Your chieftain well knows his. My rule's to sleep
On the drench'd plain of battle." Scarce he
spake, 270
And in mid horrors plung'd. 'T was then the
Gauls

No sooner saw their chieftain's valued life
Endanger'd by their fault, than as the dust
Of nitred powder, when the awful reed
Is once applied, instant the whole explodes ; 275
So they with one accord, by love, and shame,
And conscience urg'd, out of their trenches sprang
Shouting aloud ; " Save, save, our general save ;"
And furious rush'd amid the hostile ranks.
And now the horrid bayonet's dreaded point 280
Drank deep the blood of men with rage renew'd ;
While Discord, never satiate, laughing stood,
Urging fell slaughter, and the groans of death.
Then had the struggle 'twixt the combatants
Been long and glorious, the Gauls to drive 285

The impetuous Britons from their haughty post,
And save their blasted laurels ; Britain's sons
To check rebellion's progress, and destroy
The foe's encroaching works : both stood, both
fought,

Both with one mind infuriate were impell'd 290
Resolv'd to die, or conquer on the spot.

So mighty Hector, so the Grecian chiefs
Strove for Patroclus' corpse, the one to save,
And back convey it to the Grecian ships,
The other to proud Troy to bear the prize ; 295
While all around the heaped bodies lay
Drenching the earth with Greek and Trojan blood.

Then had insatiate Death, with 'Terroure join'd,
In the dark web of slaughter wrapt them both,
Had not great Abercrombie's piercing eye 300
Perceiv'd the pouring deluge, and aloud

Thus to his troops exclaims ; " Comrades in arms !
Have ye forgot your orders to retire

From the surrounding foe ? all contest now
Is vain and useless ; save your precious lives 305
While yet to save is easy ; haste, retreat,

Obeys your chieftain's voice, nor let that voice
Accuse of rashness what should be enroll'd
In deeds of highest valour." Thus he spake,
And they reluctant yield : flank'd by the foe, 310

Almost enclos'd, and from their countrymen
Cut off, unwilling still to quit their post,
They yet would fight, and fighting did retire.

BOOK IX. OR LIBERTY RESTORED.

219

So mighty Ajax by the Trojans press'd,
Yet fought, and turn'd, and turn'd, and fought
again, 315

**Much loath to quit the field, until at last,
By Jove's supreme decree, his mighty limbs,
Slow changing their short steps, retir'd compell'd.**

END OF THE NINTH BOOK.



WASHINGTON,
OR
LIBERTY RESTORED

BOOK X.

ARGUMENT OF THE TENTH BOOK.

Battle of York-town continued. Speech of Satan to the infernal host. Fears of Washington. Dispersion of the infernals, with the exception of their chiefs. Advice of Beelzebub, of Moloch, and of Satan. Operations of Satan. Intrepidity of lord Cornwallis. Untimely fate of colonel Laurens. Fury of the American troops. Lord Cornwallis's attempt to escape frustrated. His soliloquy, and its consequence. Satan's grief, and soliloquy. The departure of the infernal chieftains, Mammon only excepted. The gates of hell sealed by the archangel Michael. Spontaneous prayer of the Americans at the sun's rising. Conclusion of the battle. Extraordinary courage of the Britons. Speech of lord Cornwallis to his chiefs. Surrender of York-town. Terrours of Death, and Sin. The Poet's address to Peace. Liberty's last counsel to Washington. Conclusion.

WASHINGTON,

OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

THE golden car, and panting steeds of Day
Had now completed more than middle space
Up heaven's concave steep ; when hell's arch-fiend,
Like some self-poised planet, high in air,
Hung o'er his balanc'd myriads, and aloud 5
Thus to fierce Moloch pour'd his ponderous voice ;
“ Hell's second chief ! Terrour of God and Man !
Long have I seen thy soul panting revenge,
Like some gall'd lion on his daring foe,
Some old Typhæus on the thundering Jove ; 10
Nor have I seen thus long to sooth thy wrath,
But add fresh fuel to thy risen flames.
Chieftain ! The hour is come, when all our fears,
And woes must vanish into desert air,
Or else be fix'd eternal ; mortal power 15
Can do no more, or Abercrombie's arm
Had yet resisted. Be it then for us,
For us to check the progress of the foe,
And float the British lion o'er his tents.

This day the knell of Freedom tolls aloud 20
To all the earth ; and Ignorance again,
With all her various evils, shall diffuse
Her re-establish'd lustre o'er mankind.
Haste then, brave chief ! nor fear that puny seraph,
Who proudly bears her half-illumin'd shield 25
Near Michael's waving sword ; that sword be mine
To shiver on this orb ; but no delay,
Lead on the infernal phalanx ; let the roar
Of our dread engines fright the barren sky :
While the round earth shall to its centre shake 30
And fear for its cohesion." Thus he said,
And his fierce eye-balls flash'd the fires of hell ;
Nor Moloch deign'd reply, but instant gave
The horrid sign of blood ; at which the host
Upsent a shout that shook the globed earth 35
E'en to its centre ; rent the frightened sky,
And made the darkest depths of distant hell
Tremble throughout. And now the earth had gone
Against the will of Heaven to eternal wrack ;
Had not Columbia's chieftain seen the storm, 40
And thus to Freedom pour'd his pious prayer ;
Celestial Spirit ! If e'er thou took'st delight
To succour suffering man ; if e'er thou heard'st
Him whom thou call'st thy son ; now lend thine aid ;
For mortal strength no longer can avail 45
Without the help of Heaven ; preserve thy friends ;
Preserve the human race from these dire ills ;
And O ! may universal peace and love

Repay the honours of this dreadful day!"
Scarce had he said when through the seas of air. 50
The heavenly seraph skimm'd her lucid way,
Nor clos'd her oary pinions, till oppos'd
To all the hostile myriads pois'd she stood,
And thus indignant spake with voice divine;
" Infernal myriads! Know it is not given 55
Immortal weapons to be stain'd with blood
Of mortal man, hence then to whence ye came,
Your fittest place of residence; there wait
Your future doom: too long has patient Heaven
Endur'd your countless wrongs; too long hath man
Been made your sport and prey. Hence then, be
gone." 61

She spake, nor waited Moloch's bursting rage,
But straight from off her blazing shield remov'd
That mist of clouds which all its glory veil'd:
Instant fell horror seiz'd their sinful ranks, 65
And from their nerveless hands the couched spear
Dropp'd, nor their eyes could wait the fiery edge
Of that resplendent orb, which, like the sun,
Shot thro' the barren space 'twixt earth and sky,
And fill'd all ether with ambrosial blaze. 70
Now angel with arch-angel turn'd to flight
With terrible dismay, and odious rout;
As erst in heaven when Michael's griding sword
Had quell'd their mightiest; so much had sin
Weaken'd their heavenly powers; nor staid their
courage 75

Till thro' the gates of hell they wing'd their way.
As when proud Snowdon's awful summit wrapt
In sinking darkness, fills with awe the minds
Of Cambrian shepherds, who then house their flocks
Fearing the coming storm ; but when the sun 80
Rising in awful majesty dispels
The incumbent gloom, then all the valleys laugh
With joy responsive to the shepherd's breast :
So now the orb of liberty dispell'd
The infernal host throughout the liquid air ; 85
Save where their mightiest few withstood, tho' scarce
Withstood the fiery orb, not less by sin
Pollute, but once advanc'd in higher sphere
Were more enabled to endure the blaze.
These now, their heads in clouds of treble dark 90
Closely enwrap, together join'd to plot
New schemes of evil 'gainst the sons of men.
To them Beëlzebub, majestick king,
With crest unfallen thus the silence brake ;
“ Imperial Powers ! For by what other name 95
Can you be yet address'd, who even now,
Though all our forces fled, and our own strength
More than half lost by long sojourn in hell,
Yet even now with undiminish'd spirit
Withstand the force of Michael newly come 100
From highest heav'n's invigorating light ?
Unconquer'd Virtues ! Since our mighty plan,
So well devis'd with seeming excellence,
Hath fail'd success, and by experience taught

We dearly learn how futile all attempts 105
To wield immortal arms 'gainst mortal man ;
Hear now what I advise ; full well ye know
How much by fraud, and subtlety is gain'd
O'er the weak minds of men ; by this alone
Our mighty chief tempted the first of men 110
To his destruction, and by this alone
Do wicked kings and ministers on earth
Obtain unlawful sway, which when obtain'd
They use with barefac'd tyranny ; so we
May mix unseen among the British host, 115
And whisper in their breasts the surest means
To ensure success against our dauntless foe.
This done ; when victory shall crown their deeds,
Then may we take revenge for all the shame
Our flying myriads suffer." Thus he spake ; 120
And thus to him fierce Moloch gave reply ;
" Long have I, mighty Beelzebub ! admir'd
Thy sovereign wisdom ; for amongst our chiefs
Who wiser is than thou, our prince except ?
But much I fear, while Michael's potent sword 125
Waves thus aloft, and Liberty's dread shield
Flaming its fiery horrors, guards the foe,
Nor wiles, nor subtlety will aught avail.
My voice then is with unextinguish'd rage,
And instant onset, in close phalanx join'd, 130
To attack those heavenly guards, and from despair
To seek our hope of safety." Thus he said,
And as some wounded lion rolls around
His flashing eye-balls, raging to devour

His daring enemy, and with his tail 135
Lashes his tawny sides, until at last
With foaming jaws he springs upon the foe :
So now had Moloch's fierce intrepid soul
Not waited for his peers, but instant rush'd
Upon the sword of Michael, when his prince 140
Thus with persuasive accents check'd his rage ;
" Moloch ! Full well do all thy brave compeers
Know thy intrepid worth, where danger is
There Moloch's dauntless form is surely found ;
But 't is not bravery alone our cause 145
Stands now in need of, 't is collected thought,
And cool deliberation to supplant
Our heavenly opponents, and since they
Have not recourse to arms, so will not we :
Here we are equal ; then will be the time 150
To appeal to force, when Michael's dreaded sword
Which now so vainly cleaves the yielding air
Shall dare to interrupt our well-laid plans.
What if hard fate forbid our potent host
Their promis'd victory o'er mortal man ! 155
Virtue herself's full oft the slave of force,
Nor e'en our foe with all her vaunted might
Shall dare to trespass 'gainst the high command :
Here then we are but equal ; but tho' fate
Forbid immortal weapons to be us'd 160
'Gainst frail mortality ; yet is not Death,
That griesly King of terrors, iron-tooth'd,
Whom I in secret dalliance erst in heaven
Begot on Sin, my son, my only son,

Is he not still impower'd to glut his maw 165
 With blood of fallen Adam's progeny ?
 But Death is heedless, cares for friend nor foe,
 And sweeps with undistinguish'd greediness
 Within his brazen net, both good, and bad ;
 High, low, rich, poor are all as one to him ; 170
 Let us then guide his hand, he'll not refuse
 To obey our counsel, nor to aid our cause,
 The cause of him and us ; and if, perchance,
 He strike Columbia's hero, then will peace,
 And faith, and freedom bid farewell to earth : 175
 Here then we more than equal our proud foe :
 Hence then despair, we have the joyful hope
 Of speedy vengeance. Nor is this, though great,
 Our sole reliance ; can we but delay
 For six short days the foe's progressive works, 180
 And victory eternal shall be ours ;
 For even now while floating high in air
 'Bove Apalachian snows, my joyful eyes

180. *For six short days &c.*—"Sir Henry Clinton was well informed of the danger which threatened the army in Virginia, and could not be insensible to the influence which its fate would have on the war. He determined therefore to hazard every thing for its preservation; and having embarked about 7000 of his best troops, sailed for the Chesapeak, under convoy of a fleet augmented to twenty-five sail of the line. The armament, which did not leave the Hook till the day on which the capitulation was signed at York-town, (19th of October,) appeared off the cape of Virginia on the 24th of October. Unquestionable intelligence being received there that lord Cornwallis had surrendered, no sufficient motive remained for attacking an enemy so superiour in point of force as was the count de Grasse, and the British general returned to New-York." *Life of W.* iv. 555-6 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 272.

Discern'd Britannia's pendant streaming high
Before the favouring gale; she pilots men, 185
And, but her ponderous freight hath much delay'd
Her eager speed, had long ere this been here.
Haste then, brave chiefs! Put off your heavenly
form,

And in man's form mix with your fellow men;
There give the counsel of superiour minds, 190
And may success and better fates prevail!"
Thus spake the fiend, and loud applause ensu'd,
Save where stern Moloch's half unsoothed soul
Scarce frown'd assent grimly. But now the chiefs
Obedient to the counsel of their prince, 195
Put on the human shape of various mien
As suited best their tempers, and their hopes
To hold dominion o'er the sons of men.
Far on the drenched plain a warrior lay,
With wounds, and glory crown'd, and circling
foes, 200

Whom not e'en age, that chills the blood of men,
Could keep from honour in his country's cause:
Much did Cornwallis love him, but his fate
Had not yet reach'd the mighty general's ear.
Him Satan saw, and straight assum'd his form 205
Exact in limb and feature, and with speed
Thus to the British chieftain pour'd his words;
" Beloved general! Britain's firmest hope!
Lo! where victorious Abercrombie's arm,
With scarce a handful of our veteran bands, 210
Hath check'd the aspiring progress of the foe.

By this day's valourous deed Britannia gains
 A never-fading crown ; we greet thee, chief !
 And hail the auspicious omen ; hence let fear
 Be banish'd far, for if we can attack, 215
 And that successful, sure, we can defend ;
 Nor need we long defence, for even now
 Intelligence, on which I can depend,
 Hath-reach'd my joyous ears, that Clinton sends
 A timely succour to his friends in need. 220
 Ere six short suns have roll'd their daily course,
 Britannia's flag shall float off yonder Cape
 And all our woes be ended." Thus he said,
 And thus to him Cornwallis answer'd brief ;
 " Experienc'd Veteran ! Well thou would'st ad-
 vise, 225
 But much I fear that ere two suns have roll'd
 Their perfect course, nor gun, nor battery,
 Nor ammunition will remain ; our works
 In every quarter sink beneath the fire
 Of our besiegers, and those parallels, 230

229. *sink beneath the fire &c.*—"About four in the afternoon, the besiegers opened several batteries in their second parallel; and it was apparent that, in the course of the ensuing day, the whole line of batteries in that parallel, in which was mounting an immense quantity of artillery, would be ready to play on the town. The works of the besieged were in no condition to sustain so tremendous a fire. They were every where in ruins. Their batteries were so overpowered, that in the whole front that was attacked they could not show a single gun; and their shells were nearly expended. In this extremity, lord Cornwallis formed the bold design of endeavouring to escape by land with the greater part of his army." *Life of W.* iv. 545-6. See above, note book ix. ver. 92.

Which threat their opening horrors, will complete
Our ruin ; neither town, nor works, nor ships,
Afford us further shelter from our foes.

Longer resistance then is waste of life
To arm'd and unarm'd, and humanity 235
Must teach us to be merciful and just."

Thus spake the chief, and thus again the fiend ;

" If then resistance is no longer safe,
What if we trust to flight ? Our valourous troops,
Join'd on the Gloster shore with Tarleton's force,
May thro' the oppos'd de Choisy's feeble bands 241

Cut their resistless way ; when may we gain
By rapid march the Rappahannock ford,
Pass the Potomack, with its sister flood,
And thus thro' Pennsylvania force our way 245

Till we reach Jersey, where we meet again
Our British brethren." " Well thou hast advis'd,"
Reply'd Cornwallis, " for tho' desperate
Seems the attempt, yet desperate is our state,

239. *What if we trust to flight ?* &c.—Lord Cornwallis " determined to leave his sick and baggage behind, and crossing over in the night with his effectives to Gloster shore, to attack de Choise. After cutting to pieces, or dispersing the troops under that officer, he intended to mounth his infantry on the horses belonging to that detachment, and on others to be seized on the road, and by a rapid march to gain the fords of the great rivers ; and by forcing his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to form a junction with the army in New-York. Scarcely a possibility existed that this desperate attempt could be crowned with success ; but the actual situation of the British general had become so absolutely hopeless, that it could scarcely be changed for the worse. Boats prepared under other pretexts, were held in readiness to receive the troops at ten at night, in order to convey them over the river." *Life of W.* iv. 546-7.

244. *its sister flood*,—The Susquehannah.

Despair then be our safeguard, and when night 250
Shall spread her sable curtain, let our boats

Under pretences various be safe moor'd

Close to the town." Thus ended further parle.

And now the fiend rejoicing in his heart

Bow'd and withdrew, and in the toils of war 255

Mix'd, not unseen, for Michael's piercing eye

Saw where his lengthen'd strides he proudly strode,

Nor check'd his gait, but smil'd within his breast

To see how wicked beings defeat the end

Of their own wickedness. Scarce had the steeds,

And fervent wheels of Day descended down 261

The middle steep of heaven's vast concave,

When now the second parallel complete,

The storm of battle 'gan to rage afresh

In treble fury, that one unengag'd 265

Had said the tempest was but just commenc'd.

Now all the plains, and hills, and distant sea

Laugh with the sulphurous light, and gleam of
arms,

While the dread enginry pours all around

Its iron showers. Meantime the British chief, 270

Firm and unmov'd amid surrounding wrecks,

Crested in valour stood, nor knew to yield.

So some spent boar circled by dogs and men

Bristles in vain the horrors of his back,

And whets his angry tusks, but to enhance 275

The value of the capture to the foe.

Then did Cornwallis' great and mighty soul

Shine forth preeminent ; his god-like mind

Then mark'd him fit for rule ; while all around
Evil on evil rose incalculatè, 280
And death itself in every hideous shape
That scares the soul of man appear'd in view ;
How cool his orders ! How compos'd his brow !
Dreadless of danger e'en when whizzing fate
Drove up the stony earth beneath his feet. 285
While half his brave companions at his side
Grasp'd in the agonies of death the stained dust ;
While the throng'd streets of York-town flow'd in
blood

Bridg'd with the dead and dying, and the crash
Of falling houses in untimely fate, 290
And hideous ruin crash'd those maimed men,
Who seeking shelter crawl'd beneath their roofs ;
When e'en his guards forgetting their own ills
Thought of their chief, and wish'd him to retire ;
How like a God he stood ! The breath of life 295
How willing to compact for honour's meed !
But vain his efforts ; for in the open sky
Heaven's awful trumpet spake the wrath divine.

Far to the right mid thickening clouds of war,
Near to Columbia's guardian, Laurens stood 300
Cloth'd with impetuous valour, on his brow
Sat purple youth circled with wisdom's crown ;
Dear to Columbia's bulwark was the chief,
Dear to his country ; to his valourous arm,
And to his virtues much that country owed. 305
Ah ! Youth ! too brave ! the Muse herself must
drop

The sorrowing tear o'er thy approaching fate.

Alas ! Too soon the enemy of man

Hath envied thee thy worth, and nipt thy bud

Ere it arrive to fruit ; with other hopes 310

Thy country nurtur'd thee ; but tho' thou fall,

Thou fall'st in glory shrouded, and thy sons

Shall smile in freedom, when they weep for thee.

Thee now the arch-fiend, where from afar he viewed

The fratricidal horrors of the field, 315

Too soon perceiv'd, and with deep malice fraught

Thus to the king of Terrours pour'd his ire ;

“ Beloved Son ! In whom my only hopes

Now rest ; full well thou know'st how much my
cause,

And thine in this day's contest are involv'd ; 320

Well too thou know'st how Fate forbids to use

Immortal arms ; to thee alone is given

The power to hurt mankind ; to thee alone

I now address myself ; see where our foes,

Just on the verge of capture, closer draw 325

The yawning net of war ; see where the prey

By their own useless numbers circumscrib'd

Lose half their vigour, 't is to thee, my son !

I look for succour, hear then my request.”

Him interrupting brief the king replied ; 330

“ Speak that request, and deem thy will obey'd ;

My cause and thine are one, but much I fear

This day is evil.” Thus the Terrour said,

And thus the hell-sprung Malice gave reply ;

“ Thou seest far off where youthful Laurens stands,

Shrouded in valour and his noble deeds, 336
 Much to his foresight does Columbia owe,
 And on his ardent patriotick zeal
 His chieftain rests his hopes ; but bravery
 Is his least virtue, and the excess of it 340
 His greatest foible. Vengeance then be ours ;
 His fate will kindle in his general's breast
 Regret past utterance. Take thou this ball,
 Dip it in fate, and speed it to his heart."
 The griesly Terror took, and grinn'd a smile, 344
 His last fell smile, then lodg'd the fated lead
 Deep in the chieftain's breast ; now sleep's dark
 cloud
 The hero's eyelids clos'd, but not before
 Thus with faint accent spake his parting soul ;
 " Go tell the general, 't is not death I moan, 350

339. *but bravery Is his least virtue, &c.*—Lieut. Col. John Laurens, whose fate is here described, and whose character is so exquisitely drawn by Dr. Ramsay, did not lose his life at the siege of York-town, but in an unimportant skirmish at the conclusion of the war in the subsequent year ; but the poet could not forbear trespassing upon chronology in order to crown the deeds of a patriot, "who was the pride of his country, the idol of the army, and an ornament of human nature."—"Where-ever the war raged most, there was he to be found. A dauntless bravery was the least of his virtues, and an excess of it his greatest foible." *Ramsay*, ii. 291 ; *Life of W.* iv. 636. Upon hearing of his fate general Washington said ; "The death of colonel Laurens I consider as a very heavy misfortune, not only to the publick at large, but particularly to his family, and to all his private friends and connections, to whom his amiable and useful character had rendered him peculiarly dear." *Life of W.* iv. 637.

350. "Go tell the general, &c."—Compare the dying speech of general Desaix at the battle of Marengo, whence this is borrowed.

As that I die, and have not done enough
To eternize my fame." Thus greatly fell
The youthful Laurens, and like Thebes' brave
chief

Died but to live for ever. Spotless Shade !
Reproachless Warriour ! Bravery and worth 355

Have lost in thee their model, but thy fame
Shall shine to future men the polar star
To guide their wanderings thro' the seas of life.
Nor did not Freedom see thy coming fate;
She saw and griev'd, and from seraphick eyes 360

Shed tears of angels' pity, but the will
Of Heaven must be obey'd ; the Fates forbid
Two stars to rule Columbia's hemisphere.

But what or tongue, or pencil can portray
Thy mighty general's grief ? Him utterance 365 -
Long time forsook, and Fate denied the tear
To ease his swollen heart. But nor the fiend
Rejoiced in his joy, such fury seiz'd

The madden'd troops, that like the forked fire
Hurl'd by Heaven's hand upon the sins of men, 370
So rush'd their gleamy bayonets on the foe ;
While black Revenge before their bristling ranks
Made smooth the road to certain victory.

Now rose the star of evening, beauteous light,
Night's silent messenger, and in her hand 375
Led grateful Twilight ; now had horrid War
Relax'd his rancour, when the British chief
Prepar'd to execute his latest plan,
And last resource so seemingly devis'd ;

Now were the boats unmoor'd, and with first freight
 Reach'd in security the opposed shore; 381
 When Freedom saw, and with her breath divine
 Breath'd on the indignant waters, which uprose
 In curling billows, while the elements
 Pour'd forth their winds and rain. Cornwallis saw,
 And 'rest of hope thus to his poignant soul 386
 The hero spake; "Some God, some God it is
 That thus with wrath celestial thwarts my hopes;
 All contest now is vain, the will of Heaven
 With humble resignation I obey." 390
 Scarce had the hero said, when round his tent
 Empyrean glory blaz'd, and words divine
 Thus pour'd the balm of comfort in his breast;
 "Tho' long Heaven's patience hath endur'd the sins
 Of rash and feeble men; yet mercy shines 395
 In the celestial breast pre-eminent,
 And spares the rod of vengeance; taught thyself
 The awful lesson of experience,
 Teach thou to others, that the heavenly will
 Created mankind free, and did intend 400
 That free they should remain, themselves alone,
 And their own cowardice have forg'd their chains;

380. *and with first freight &c.*—"The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy; and the first embarkation had arrived at the point unperceived, and part of the troops were landed, when a sudden and violent storm of wind and rain interrupted the further execution of this hazardous plan, and drove the boats down the river. It was not till the appearance of day-light that the storm ceased, so that the boats could return. They were sent to bring back the soldiers: who, without much loss, were relanded on the southern shore in the course of the forenoon." *Life of W.* iv. 547; *R.* ii. 270-1.

Teach thou this lesson, when the time arrive
That Indian darkness shall invite thy sway :
Now when the blessed sun shall gild the earth, 405
Humble thyself before thy mighty foe,
And learn that mercy, which the heavenly mind
Instils into his heart." The glory ceas'd,
And left him prostrate, while his swollen eyes
Pour'd the big tears of penitential grief. 410
'T was ^{that} the archfiend, who from afar had seen
The failure of his plans, and Freedom's arm
Triumphant in the cause of just, and right,
Look'd up to heaven, and in the hand of God
Saw the dread scales of justice, and his fate, 415
His unreprieved fate, in lightest scale
Mounted aloft, and thus to his own soul
Pensive he spake ; " Alas ! My hour is come,
My final hour, when I must leave mankind
To their own innate virtues, unpolllute 420
By ills external ; such indeed they came
From their great Maker's hand, and such again
They will in time become, for virtue is
Innate and natural, and vice alone 424
Is taught, acquir'd. Farewell then, happy race !
Farewell thou earth, and seas ; ye glittering stars
A long farewell ; and thou bright orb of night
That with reflected glory givest back
Those golden beams, that once call'd forth my hate,
And still my envy, take my last farewell. 430
It is not Michael's arm that now uplift
Threats its red vengeance, 't is not this I fear ;

No ! By the empyreal heaven I swear, that erst
Bore witness to my powers, and shook throughout
E'en to its utmost verge beneath my arm ; 435
No ! 't is not this, nor yet the enfeebled state,
Which absence long from heav'n's ambrosial light
Hath deep and irrecoverably impress'd :
No ! 't is the internal feeling ; 't is those scales
Which call me to my doom, and shew how vain 440
To oppose by arms the fix'd decrees of Fate."
Thus spake the fiend his last, and sped his flight
With murky pinions thro' the seas of air,
Like some dun cloud upthrown from Ætna's fires.
Him follow'd Beelzebub, and all the crew 445
Of hell's curs'd chieftains, for e'en Moloch's soul
Was humbled, seeing the fated scales aloft ;
Nor stopp'd their course till down the steeps of hell
He and his rout-accurs'd plung'd their last stoop.
All now had fled, save one, and one alone, 450
The monster Mammon ; him the heavenly Power
Ordain'd for wisest purpose to remain
Some longer time on earth ; but there's a point
A sacred point, beyond which Mammon's course
Not reaches, then shall Freedom blaze abroad 455
In highest glory o'er the fertile globe ;
Then Peace, and Virtue, uncorrupted Faith,
And naked Truth, and truth's all-potent child,
Eternal Wisdom, shall eternal reign.
Scarce had the infernals left the abode of men 460
When Michael, now his mission done on earth
Of guardian care to weak mortality,

Spread forth his heavenly pinions, that around
Scatter'd ambrosial fragrance, and uplift,
With glory shining like the rising sun, 465
High thro' the void of ether skimm'd his way ;
Nor stopp'd till at the adamantine gates of hell,
Which the infernal chiefs had just regain'd,
He thus his mission crown'd in fewest words ;
“ Hell ! Seal thy gates ; and thou, oblivious Pool 470
Whelm the infernal host ; 't is given no more
To injure man, but peace and love shall reign
Henceforth triumphant o'er the sacred earth ;
Such is the will of Heaven, Heaven's will be done.”
Thus spake the archangel, and the infernal gates 475
Clos'd their harsh thunders, that the lowest depths
Of long-extended hell trembled throughout ;
Night's silent reign astounded echoed back
The grating horror ; and affrighted Chaos
Leapt from his throne, never to mount again. 480
His mission thus complete, the mighty saint
Wing'd his celestial flight thro' liquid space
To heaven's golden portals, where the Hours
Keep watch alternate, these spontaneous roll'd
Their fragrant clouds, self-opening to his speed. 485

474. *Such is the will of Heaven*,—“ And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years ; And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled ; and after that he must be loosed a little season.” *Revelations*, chap. xx. ver. 1, 2, 3.

Now thro' the eastern gate the gorgeous sun
Slowly, majestick rose, and scarce uplift
In fullest orb above the smiling earth
Than fix'd it stood in glory, beaming forth
The light of love, and liberty to man. 490
This when Columbia's heroes, and allies
First saw, with outstretch'd hands, and grateful hearts
They pour their adorations to that God
Who made both sun and them, and led them forth
From slavery, as the Israelites of old 495
From bondage and from Pharaoh; "Gracious Being!
Accept our grateful homage which we pay
Pure, and unfeigned at thy mercy-seat;
Under thy heavenly aid not all our foes,
Tho' tenfold multiplied, shall turn our hearts 500
From the great cause of Justice, Truth, and Thee."
Such was their song spontaneous, for they saw
The hand of Heaven uplifted in their cause.
'T was then their chief, whose penetrating mind
Had seen the late attempt to escape by flight, 505
And fear'd for the result, should Britain's sons
Longer resist; 't was then his mighty soul
Shot like the winged lightning thro' their ranks
Breathing celestial ardour, in his train
Courage and Terrour follow'd, shouting loud, 510
While Victory and Success in middle air
Blaz'd visibly. "Now, now," the hero cries,
"The day is ours; let the assault be given."
From rank to rank the electrick furor ran,
And shouts of victory rang the vaulted sky. 515

As when Columbian rivers pour their floods
 Down from the western mountains to the sea,
 And burst the riven rock, while the loud roar
 Frights the black horror of their mighty woods,
 And all is deluge : or as when some fire, 520
 Hurl'd by Heaven's hand on Africk's parched trees,
 Flames far and wide, and e'en the beasts of speed
 Cannot escape its fury : so the troops
 Thro' fire, and smoke, and terrour cleave their way,
 And leave the flying plain behind their steps 525
 Hillock'd with dead. See e'en the foaming steeds
 With glistening ears await the trumpet's sound,
 Paw the drench'd plain, and snort the risen war.
 Here mighty Fayette, like the warrior God,
 Foams to the right ; there his great rival's soul,
 The brave Rochambeau fears to be outdone, 531
 And bears down all before him ; while Gouvain
 With Lincoln, Steuben, Nelson, Portail, Knox,
 And dauntless Hamilton's impetuous fires
 Complete the scene of slaughter, and dismay. 535
 Then did the British troops perceive too late
 How vain resistance 'gainst fair Freedom's sons ;
 Still did their spirit, worthy a better cause,
 Disdain but by command to yield the day,
 And stood unmov'd, save but to close their files. 540
 O'er fallen dead. But now as when some flood

538. *Still did their spirit, &c.*—"To the valour of his enemy Washington gave that praise which it merited ; ' they really fought,' he said, ' with courage worthy a better cause.' " *Life of W.* iv. 610.

Stopt by a trifling mound, swells up its stream
 To pour a double horror o'er the plains ;
 So now Columbia's warriors, and allies,
 Freedom and Fury urging on their ranks, 545
 Scarce check'd re-pour their deluge on the foe.
 This brave Cornwallis saw, and seeing knew
 The die of Fate was cast, and thus the chief
 With sorrowing words address'd his sorrowing troops ;
 " My brave companions ! Ye whose well-tried worth
 Merits a better fate—but 't is not man 551
 With whom we have to combat, 't is a power
 Superiour far to man, a power which tames
 The fiercest breast, and lulls the wisest mind.
 'T was this which cast that mist before my eyes 555
 When led by false delusive hope I ween'd
 A speedy succour from our valourous chief,
 And thus prevented by a prompt attack
 The junction of our foes ; 't was this which coop'd
 My force in York-town, while the power remain'd
 To reach our distant brethren in the south ; 561

558. *And thus prevented &c.*—"La Fayette, after his junction with St. Simon, had taken post at Williamsburg ; lord Cornwallis, in the month of August, had intended an attack upon this force, but was prevented by the expectation of succours from sir H. Clinton." *Ramsay*, ii. 260.

560. *while the power remain'd &c.*—"On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be said that the knowledge earl Cornwallis had of publick affairs, would have justified him in abandoning York-town, in order to return to South-Carolina. It seems as though this would have been his wisest plan ; but either from an opinion that his instructions to stand his ground were positive, or that effectual relief was probable, his lordship thought proper to risk every thing on the issue of a siege, &c." *Ramsay*, ii. 261.

And above all 'twas this which wrapt in clouds
Of dark impenetrable to Clinton's eye
The march of Washington thro' Jersey's plains,
And safe preserv'd his forces from attack 565
Till they reach'd York-town and their Gallic friends;
And what but this now leads them to the assault
Like furious madmen, and my veterans
Refts e'en of hope, and chills them to the heart?
Since then we feel how vain it is to cope 570
With such superiour powers, we now will try
Their chieftain's private virtues, and if fame
Reach not my ears delusive, mercy shines
With highest lustre in his virtuous breast.
Instant some trusty herald speed his way, 575
And bear our wishes to the chieftain's ear.
Stop, mighty general! in mid volley stop
Your thundering arms; spare, spare the blood of
man."

Thus spake Cornwallis to his prudent chiefs,
Humbled, and therefore prudent. O that men, 580
Before they give the signal to destroy

563. *Of dark impenetrable &c.*—"While the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from general Washington detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign being intercepted, fell into the hands of sir H. Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation, &c." Ramsay, ii. 266. See *Life of W.* iv. 531.

Their fellow-image of the self-same God,
Would ponder deeply in their thoughtful breasts,
That he, who dares unsheath the murderous blade
Must wait the conqueror's will to sheath the same!
Then come intreaties with their pallid hue, 580
And limping penitence that would forget
Its numerous wrongs; then admonition stalks
With frequent vestige o'er the self-same ground,
And talks of life's uncertainty and chance, 590
And changeful lot of man, and the best views
Of hope obscur'd; then too are Fate and Heaven
Oft blam'd for human errors; but Fate dwells
In acts o'er-past, and gone, and by those acts
Would with maternal care instruct mankind 595
To shun the future evil, but her care
Is thro' ambition, and audacious hope,
Too often slighted for apparent good.
Thus now the Britons; but Columbia's chief
No sooner heard the message, than as when 600
The heavenly spirit breathes upon the storm
Instant the angry waves in silence hush'd
Subside their swollen tumours, and in peace
Playful reflect the dazzling eye of day;
So now the chieftain rais'd his awful voice, 605
Increas'd by Freedom and by Virtue's aid,
And hush'd the billows of the raging war.
Thus virtue ever spares the humbled foe
And 'fore the throne of mercy lowly bends.
Scarce had the joyful echoes back return'd 610
The gladdening sound, when Terror's grisly King,

Not yet recover'd from his savage joy
O'er fallen Laurens, turn'd his pallid jaws
Toward the peace-giver, and with a shriek
That shook Columbia's summits, mean'd his loss 615
Of human banquets, and his weaken'd power;
Then fled to fever'd Java, his lov'd isle,
Where frequent sits the monarch thron'd in state.
So loud he shriek'd that even distant Sin,
Where in the western Ind the monster-form 620
Sat bartering human blood for fleeting gold,
Heard the dread sound, and with new tremours shook
Prognostick of decay; nor even Sleep
Not heard his brother's voice, from where he lay
Snoring in Dehli's towers, but scarce arous'd, 625
Rubb'd his dull lids, and listless dropp'd again.
But cease, my soul! thus harassing thyself,
To sing of Britons vanquish'd; 'tis their cause,
Not they which are subdued: Britons engag'd
In freedom's righteous aid, not all the earth 630
Risen in arms could shame by base defeat;
But when Ambition with her iron rod
Urge them to battle, then foul rout ensues,
And discord and dismay pervade their breasts.
Thus then it is, thus may it ever be 635
With those who do to others what themselves
Would not be done unto. Thus too it is
With man, when wisdom governs not the state,
The people, soon or late, will see their fault,
And with imperious voice demand reform. 640
So well, and true, Philosophy hath said,

Those nations only can be govern'd right,
 Where kings are wise, or wisdom's sons are kings.
 But cease, my Muse! And-greet the approaching goal
 Of rest to thee, of happiness to man. 645
 Henceforth the reign of Peace throughout the world

643. *Where kings are wise, &c.*—Both sacred and profane writers seem to vie with each other in inculcating this sentiment. "Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth," was the exclamation of the Psalmist: (*Ps.* ii. x.) and the prayer of the wisest of men was—"Give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before this people; for who can judge this people, that is so great? And God said to Solomon; Because this was in thine heart, and thou hast not asked riches, wealth or honour, nor the life of thine enemies, neither yet hast asked long life; but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou mayest judge my people, over whom I have made thee king; wisdom and knowledge is granted unto thee." *2 Chron.* i. 10—12. See *1 Kings*, iii. 9—12. In truth "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom; and with all thy getting get understanding." *Prov.* iv. 7. And such was the constant prayer of David. *Ps.* cxix. 34. 125. 144. 169. The heathen writings are full of the same sentiments, but the passage in the text refers to the celebrated maxim of Plato, lib. vi. *de Repub.* mentioned by Cicero, lib. i. ep. i. ad Q. frat. This maxim is well applied by Plutarch in his Life of Numa, where he observes "that mankind have but one means of cessation and liberation from evils; and that is, when the kingly power shall, thro' some divine chance, be combined with the intellectual endowments of the philosopher, and thus make virtue predominant, and superiour to vice." Sect. 20. Our learned countryman Blackstone has profited by this wisdom; "In general," says he, "all mankind will agree that government should be reposed in such persons, in whom those qualities are most likely to be found, the perfection of which is among the attributes of him who is emphatically styled the Supreme Being; the three grand requisites, I mean, of wisdom, of goodness, and of power: wisdom to discern the real interest of the community; goodness, to endeavour always to pursue that real interest; and strength or power, to carry this knowledge and intention into action. These are the natural foundations of sovereignty, and these are the requisites that ought to be found in every well-constituted frame of government." *Blackstone, Introd.* sect. ii. p. 48.

Shines undisturb'd, save by some senseless few,
Who urg'd by envy, or ambition's curse,
Will for a time disturb the joyful earth ;
But Fate, and dire Necessity have chain'd 650
By links of adamant to narrow space
Their power to harm, and all their future wars
Will, like the dying culprit's struggling pangs,
Show their approaching end. Hail blessed Peace!
Daughter of Justice, hail! Thou art to man, 655
Freedom except, the best of Heaven's gifts;
Thou mak'st the earth, with laughing verdure clad,
Gladden the human heart; thou mak'st the sea
Smile o'er its barren waves with plenty crown'd,
While the blest skies reflect the double joys 660
Of sea and earth. O! had mankind but known
One half the blessings that thy train infolds;
Had they but known that 'tis alone to thee
That Wisdom owes, and, Wisdom's parent, Truth,
Their brightest rays; that universal love 665
And charity, heaven's portals, are alone
Open'd by thee to men; that freedom shines
Then with her purest lustre, when by thee
Attended, o'er the joyful heads of men
She wings her heavenly flight, and pours around 670
Celestial fragrance, and immortal joys;
O! had mankind but known the least of these,
Thy various gifts; then had they ceas'd to stain
The earth, like beasts of prey, with human blood.
Then hadst thou here remain'd, nor, driven from
hence, 675

Again thy refuge sought near that great Power
 Who dwells in darkness midst the abyss of light.
 But great as is thy worth, so gratitude
 As great is due to him, who brought thee down
 From thy blest mansion here to dwell with us 680
 Poor feeble men, who crawl our path to death
 The creatures of a day—a shadow's dream.
 But gratitude is not; her place is fill'd
 By livid envy. Yes! Great Washington,
 Thee did the serpent hiss, and hiss'd applause. 685
 Envy's the meed of greatness, which the bad
 Ne'er fail bestowing on superiour worth;
 Even the Muse is envied, much more Thou.
 But malice brings its bane, and antidote,
 With the same hand, and indignation's voice 690
 When virtue is attack'd, like thunder's peal,
 Howls o'er malignity's devoted head,
 And scattering far and wide the clouds of evil,
 Gives to the blaze of patriotick worth
 A clearer, and a purer atmosphere. 695
 But now had war scarce ceas'd his horrid din,

685. *Thee did the serpent hiss*,—In addition to what has already been quoted upon this subject in the note, b. i. ver. 264, the reader may consult the following pages of the fifth volume of the *Life of Washington*, 189—193. 251-2. 414. 513, where Washington, in a letter to general Lee, expresses his own sentiments upon this subject.

“With equal virulence, the military and political character of the president was attacked, and he was averred to be totally destitute of merit either as a soldier or a statesman. The calumnies with which he was assailed, were not confined to his public conduct; even his qualities as a man were the subjects of detraction, &c.” *Life of W.* v. 716—8. 755. 795. 799.

And wearied earth begun to taste repose,
When thus the seraph, whose ambrosial breath,
And heaven-sprung rays, had fill'd her offspring's
breast

With ardour more than human, and the rights 700
Of man had caus'd to triumph o'er the earth
'To endless time, thus with her latest words
Address'd the pious chieftain, where he stood
Pouring the balm of comfort on those men
Who bled for freedom, and their country's cause ;
“ Once more, beloved Son! my words attend, 706
Nor think thy labours ended, tho' this day
Would stamp thy memory with eternal fame ;
Not that 't is blood-stain'd victory which gives
Immortal honours, 't is the cause alone 710
Of just, and right, which crowns the conqueror's head,
For victory is murder legaliz'd
Bereft of justice ; rather think thy toils
Are but begun, and that a life of ease
Is to the generous mind a type of death ; 715
While the blest rays of virtuous acts diffuse,
Like the pure solar beams, o'er sea and land
An ever-living glory. Thank thy God,
Thank him unceasing thanks, who from the dust
Hath rais'd thee thus to this high eminence, 720

714. *a life of ease &c.*—Of the almost “ invincible attachment” of general Washington to domestick life, and the extreme difficulty of getting him after the war to enter upon the stage of politics, the *Life of Washington* makes frequent mention, and the reader may consult vol. v. p. 136. 156—163. 176-7.

His chosen instrument, to work his work
On earth, the work of ever-during good,
Eternal happiness to all mankind.
Let iron tyranny's polluted soil
Ne'er stain thy footsteps, but where-e'er thou tread'st
Let freedom reign, with unclogg'd industry, 736
And smiling Peace; let heavenly Wisdom's sons
Be holden high in honour; where she dwells
There dwelleth Virtue, her beloved child,
With Science, her near kin, the friend of Truth, 730
And foe, whate'er some think, to iron power.
Let splendid wealth be only then esteem'd,
When, join'd with virtue, wisdom it promote,
And human happiness, and above all,
Keep thy pure heart unwounded by the stings 735
Of evil conscience, and reflect that power
Yoked with justice, is that best of yokes
Which blesseth man, and points the way to heaven.
My Son! Thou art by Freedom's aid arriv'd
The height of mortal bliss, the power to bless. 740
The human race, and, Freedom hopes, the will:
Seek thou no higher; beyond is not for thee;
But know that mortal frailty wraps thy limbs,
And the last clothing of mankind is dust. 744
Weigh well these things; act by these sacred rules;
And Freedom's shield shall guard Columbia's sons
To endless time. Thus only shalt thou reap
The golden harvest of a virtuous mind,
While round thy head shall lambent glory play
A crown of heavenly light. Columbia 750

hing the goal of earthly happiness,
thus diffuse her blessings round the globe;
direful gates of war be ever clos'd,
peace eternal beam upon mankind."
spake the seraph, and her heavenly orb 755
ended o'er Columbia, where it shines
eater buckler to a greater Rome:
slow ascending thro' the joyous skies
'd the blest choir of Heaven; there she sits
the right hand of Wisdom Infinite, 760
listening to the call of virtuous men.
! Spirit divine! All hail! nor 'sdeign to hear
voice of gratitude. To thee the Muse
her best fires; to thee all nature owes
varied blessings; for where thou art not 765
thing is good, or beautiful, but all
early wilderness, where vice and sin
t with the human feelings. But no more
these pollute the earth; thy sacred orb
far dispel them into outer dark; 770
in their stead shall mirth and love abound
virtue ever pure; the vales and hills,
'egn'd by thee, shall teem with new delights,
e'en the depths of ocean laugh with joy.

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